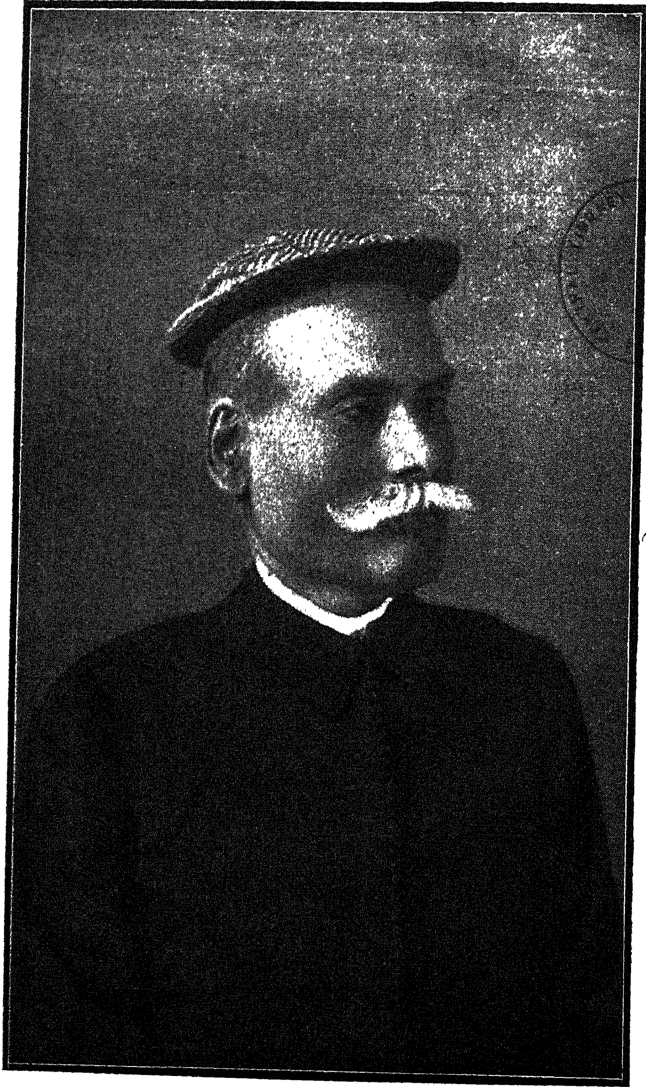
स्वर्गवासी साधुचरित श्रीमान् डालचन्दजी सिंघी



बाबू श्रीबहादुर सिंहजी सिंघीके पुण्यश्लोक पिता

जन्म-वि. सं. १९२१, मार्ग. वदि ६ 卐 स्वर्गवास-वि. सं. १९८४, पोष सुदि ६

दानशील-साहित्यरसिक-संस्कृतिप्रिय

स्व. श्रीबाबू बहादुरसिंहजी सिंघी



अजीमगंज-कलकत्ता

जन्म ता. २८-६-१८८५]　　　　[मृत्यु ता. ७-७-१९४४

SINGHI JAIN SERIES

[NUMBER 33]

Shri Bahadur Singh Singhi Memoirs

[Volume 3]



Literary Circle of Mahāmātya Vastupāla

and

Its Contribution to Sanskrit Literature

Shri Bahadur Singh Singhi Memoirs



१ स्व. बाबू श्रीबहादुरसिंहजी सिंघी स्मृतिग्रन्थ [भारतीय विद्या, भाग ३] सन १९४४.

2 Late Babu Shri Bahadur Singhji Singhi Memorial volume.
BHARATIYA VIDYA [Volume V] A. D. 1945.

3 Literary Circle of Mahāmātya Vastupāla and its contribution to Sanskrit Literature. By Dr. Bhogilal J. Sandesara, M. A. Ph. D.

4-5 Studies in Indian Literary History, Two Volumes.
By Prof. P. K. Gode, M. A.

*
* *

SINGHI JAIN SERIES

A COLLECTION OF CRITICAL EDITIONS OF IMPORTANT JAIN CANONICAL PHILOSOPHICAL. HISTORICAL, LITERARY, NARRATIVE AND OTHER WORKS IN PRĀKRIT, SANSKRIT, APABHRAṂŚA AND OLD RĀJASTHĀNI-GUJARĀTI LANGUAGES, AND OF NEW STUDIES BY COMPETENT RESEARCH SCHOLARS

ESTABLISHED

IN THE SACRED MEMORY OF THE SAINT LIKE LATE SETH

ŚRĪ DĀLCHANDJĪ SINGHĪ

OF CALCUTTA

BY

HIS LATE DEVOTED SON

DĀNAŚĪLA-SĀHITYARASIKA-SANSKRITIPRIYA

SRĪ BAHĀDUR SINGH SINGHĪ

●

DIRECTOR AND GENERAL EDITOR

ACHĀRYA JINA VIJAYA MUNI

(HONORARY MEMBER OF THE GERMAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY)

(HON. DIRECTOR—BHĀRATĪYA VIDYĀ BHAVAN—BOMBAY; AND RĀJSTHĀN PURĀTATTVA MANDIR, JAIPUR)

●

UNDER THE EXCLUSIVE PATRONAGE OF

ŚRĪ RĀJENDRA SINGH SINGHI

AND

ŚRĪ NARENDRA SINGH SINGHI

●

PUBLISHED BY

SINGHI JAIN ŚĀSTRA ŚIKSHĀPITH

BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN

BOMBAY

SINGHI JAIN SERIES

Works in the Series already out.

अद्यावधि मुद्रितग्रन्थनामावलि

१ मेरुतुङ्गाचार्यरचित प्रबन्धचिन्तामणि मूल संस्कृत ग्रन्थ.
२ पुरातनप्रबन्धसंग्रह बहुविध ऐतिह्यतथ्यपरिपूर्ण अनेक निबन्ध संचय.
३ राजशेखरसूरिरचित प्रबन्धकोश.
४ जिनप्रभसूरिकृत विविधतीर्थकल्प.
५ मेघविजयोपाध्यायकृत देवानन्दमहाकाव्य.
६ यशोविजयोपाध्यायकृत जैनतर्कभाषा.
७ हेमचन्द्राचार्यकृत प्रमाणमीमांसा.
८ भट्टाकलङ्कदेवकृत अकलङ्कग्रन्थत्रयी.
९ प्रबन्धचिन्तामणि – हिन्दी भाषान्तर.
१० प्रभाचन्द्रसूरिरचित प्रभावकचरित.
११ सिद्धिचन्द्रोपाध्यायरचित भानुचन्द्रगणिचरित.
१२ यशोविजयोपाध्यायविरचित ज्ञानबिन्दुप्रकरण.
१३ हरिषेणाचार्यकृत बृहत्कथाकोश.
१४ जैनपुस्तकप्रशस्तिसंग्रह, प्रथम भाग.
१५ हरिभद्रसूरिविरचित धूर्ताख्यान. (प्राकृत)
१६ दुर्गदेवकृत रिष्टसमुच्चय. „
१७ मेघविजयोपाध्यायकृत दिग्विजयमहाकाव्य.
१८ कवि अब्दुल रहमानकृत सन्देशरासक.
१९ भर्तृहरिकृत शतकत्रयादि सुभाषितसंग्रह.
२० शान्त्याचार्यकृत न्यायावतारवार्तिक-वृत्ति.
२१ कवि धाहिलरचित पउमसिरीचरिउ. (अप०)
२२ महेश्वरसूरिकृत नाणपंचमीकहा. (प्राकृ०)
२३ भद्रबाहुसंहिता.
२४ जिनेश्वरसूरिकृत कथाकोषप्रकरण. (प्रा०)
२५ उदयप्रभसूरिकृत धर्माभ्युदयमहाकाव्य.
२६ जयसिंहसूरिकृत धर्मोपदेशमाला.
२७ कोऊहलविरचित लीलावई कहा (प्रा०)
२८ जिनदत्ताख्यानद्वय.

Dr. G. H. Bühler's Life of Hemachandrācharya.
Translated from German by Dr. Manilal Patel, Ph. D.

Works in the Press.

संप्रति मुद्यमाणग्रन्थनामावलि

१ खरतरगच्छबृहद्गुर्वावलि.
२ कुमारपालचरित्रसंग्रह.
३ विविधगच्छीयपट्टावलिसंग्रह.
४ जैनपुस्तक प्रशस्तिसंग्रह, भाग २.
५ विज्ञप्तिसंग्रह - विज्ञप्ति महालेख - विज्ञप्ति त्रिवेणी आदि अनेक विज्ञप्तिलेख समुच्चय.
६ उद्योतनसूरिकृत कुवलयमालाकथा.
७ कीर्तिकौमुदी आदि वस्तुपालप्रशस्तिसंग्रह.
८ दामोदरकृत उक्तिव्यक्ति प्रकरण.
९ महामुनिगुणपालविरचित जंबूचरित्र (प्राकृत)
१० जयपाहुडनाम निमित्तशास्त्र. (प्राकृत)
११ गुणचन्द्रविरचित मंत्रीकर्मचन्द्रवंशप्रबन्ध.
१२ नयचन्द्रविरचित हम्मीरमहाकाव्य.
१३ महेन्द्रसूरिकृत नर्मदासुन्दरीकथा. (प्रा०)
१४ स्वयंभूविरचित पउमचरिउ (अपभ्रंश)
१५ सिद्धिचन्द्रकृत काव्यप्रकाशखण्डन.
१६ कौटल्यकृत अर्थशास्त्र - सटीक.
१७ गुणप्रभाचार्यकृत विनयसूत्र.

Shri Bahadur Singh Singhi Memoirs

[Volume No. 3]

LITERARY CIRCLE OF MAHĀMĀTYA VASTUPĀLA

AND

ITS CONTRIBUTION TO SANSKRIT LITERATURE

BY

Dr. Bhogilal J. Sandesara. M. A., Ph. D.

Professor and Head of the Department of Gujarati,
Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda.



PUBLISHED BY

Singhi Jain Shastra Sikshapith

BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN

BOMBAY

V. E. 2009] First Edition: Five Hundred Copies [1953 A. D.

Vol. 3] *** [Price Rs.10-8-0

By the same Author

संघविजयकृत सिंहासनबत्रीसी (1933)
माधवकृत रूपसुन्दरकथा (1934)
वीरसिंहकृत उषाहरण (1938)
वाघेलाओनुं गुजरात (1939)
मतिसारकृत कर्पूरमंजरी (1941)
प्राचीन गुजराती साहित्यमां वृत्तरचना (1941)
इतिहासनी केडी–लेखसंग्रह (1945)
संघदासगणिकृत वसुदेव.हिंडी–गुजराती अनुवाद (1946)
वस्तुपाल का विद्यामण्डल–हिंदी अनुवाद (1947)
वस्तुपालनुं विद्यामण्डल अने बीजा लेखो (1948)
सत्तरमा शतकनां प्राचीन गुर्जर काव्य (1948)
ज्येष्ठीमल्ल ज्ञाति अने मल्लपुराण (1948)
पंचतंत्र (1949)
जगन्नाथपुरी अने ओरिसाना पुरातन अवशेषो (1951)
हेमचन्द्राचार्य का शिष्यमण्डल–हिंदी अनुवाद (1951)
जैन आगमसाहित्यमां गुजरात (1952)
उत्तराध्ययन सूत्र, अध्ययन १-१८ (1952)
भारतीय आर्यभाषा अने हिन्दी (1952)
नेमिचन्द्र भंडारी-विरचित षष्टिशतक प्रकरण, त्रण बालावबोध सहित (1953)
शब्द अने अर्थ-शब्दार्थशास्त्र विषे पांच व्याख्यानो (in the Press)
महीराजकृत नल-दवदंती रास (in the Press)
नन्दचरित्र (in the press)

General Editor's Foreword

It is with great pleasure that I present to the scholarly world Dr. Bhogilal J. Sandesara's learned work entitled 'Literary Circle of Mahāmātya Vastupāla and its contribution to Sanskrit Literature' which is being published as the third volume of Shrī Bahādur Singhjī Singhī Memorial Series established in the sacred memory of the Late Bābu Shrī Bahādur Singhjī Singhī, the founder of the Singhī Jain Series.

On the 7th July, 1944, Shrī Bahādur Singhji Singhī of memorable name left his mortal coils. To perpetuate his sacred memory was published under my editorship the बाबु बहादुरसिंहजी सिंघी स्मृतिग्रंथ in the form of a bulky issue of the भारतीय विद्या a Hindi-Gujarati Research Quarterly, presenting a collection of highly valuable contributions from numerous scholars. Therewith was also included an extensive essay by me giving my cherished reminiscences of Singhījī. At the time of issuing that memorial volume, it occurred to me that to commemorate the name of the late Singhījī such a memorial volume should be published every year. Accordingly a special yearly number of the *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, a research journal in English published by the Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan was issued as the Bābu Shrī Bahādursinghjī Singhī Memorial Volume. It proved to be a rich and valuable collection of important research papers. But because of some unfavourable circumstances, my decision of publishing a memorial volume yearly in the sacred memory of Singhījī could not be regularly given effect to in the immediately following years, though my efforts in that connection were continued. And before the present work was taken up for publication, I undertook in 1946-47 to publish in the present series the two volumes of 'Studies in Indian Literary History', presenting a collection of valuable articles of my learned friend Prof. P. K. Gode. But as an aftermath of the large-scale destruction and loss that resulted from the Second World War, paper, etc. became very scarce, so that the printing of these volumes of Prof. Gode could not be carried on according to schedule, and it has not yet been possible to place them before the reading public.

In the meanwhile printing of the present work was completed, and I experience satisfaction to some degree in presenting it to the learned world.

To-day is the ninth anniversary of the passing away of that great soul to commemorate whose name the present memorial series is started. And the fact that on this very day it has been possible to publish such a rich volume of the memorial series will, I hope, be a matter of gratification to the admirers and lovers of the Singhī Jain Series. I also hope that further within a few months it will be possible to make available to scholars the above-mentioned two important volumes together of Prof. Gode's writings too.

The author of the present monograph, Dr. Bhogilal J. Sandesara is a deep and well-advanced student of his subject. He has studied as well as taught the subject of Gujarati language, culture and ancient history with earnestness and enthusiasm. I personally know him since many years — since even when he had not yet passed his school final. At that time being impressed by his insatiable urge to learn — and especially to know and understand everything about the ancient cultural glory of Gujarat, I had also an occasion to say to him a few words of encouragement. Being a native of Pāṭaṇ which remained for centuries the greatest centre of culture and prosperity, and which is even at present quite famous for having preserved the literary treasures of Gujarat, it was but natural for Dr. Sandesara to draw ever-fresh inspiration for the study of subjects, clear to him. The famous Jain Bhaṇḍārs at Pāṭaṇ harbouring thousands of Sanskrit and Prakrit Mss. and hundreds of Old Gujarati works belonging right down to the eighteenth century would prove a effective source of inspiration to any one sufficiently curious and deligent. In my case too, for instance, it was Pāṭaṇ with its rich and varied materials and sources relating to the past history, literature and glory of Gujarat which principally induced me to study them, and enable me by publishing them to make my humble contribution in the service of literature. This very work of Dr. Sandesara is sufficient proof as to how much valuable were these Mss. at Pāṭaṇ for his work of editing and research. Had he not got any clear idea of the rich materials stored in the Pāṭaṇ Bhaṇḍārs, and had he not got an apportunity of having access to them, he would have not been able, as he has been, to substantiate his thesis at various places with original, reliable and first-rate evidences, and thus makes the work authentic and well written.

Concerning the life and good deeds of Vastupāla, the great and glorious minister of Mahā-Gujarāt, there are numerous works in Sanskrit and Old Gujarati, and on the basis of these a number of works, essays and articles have appeared in Modern Gujarati, Hindi, English, German, etc. But among all these writings the present work of Prof. Sandesara occupies a special place on account of organized marshalling of facts and of authentic pictures of the cultural and social conditions of the Gujarat of those times.

I offer my heart-felt congratulations to Prof. Sandesara for this work done so well.

In fine I take this opportunity to express here my feeling of sincere gratitude towards the University of Bombay which having taken into consideration the high worth of the present work, has shown generousness in granting a substantial sum towards the cost of its publication.

7th of July, 1953. JINA VIJAYA MUNI

SHRI BAHADUR SINGHJI SINGHI

By

Acharya Jina Vijaya Muni

THE 7th OF JULY, is a sorrowful day for me. This day in the year 1944, Babu Shri Bahadur Singhji Singhi left his mortal coils at the comparatively early age of fiftynine. His loss has been widely felt. His aged mother received this rude shock so ill that she did not long outlive him. His worthy sons have lost an affectionate and noble father, the industrialists and businessmen of the country one of their pioneers, the large number of his employees a benevolent master, scholarship one of its best patrons and the poor people of his native district a most generous donor. To me his loss has been personal. My contact with him was a turning point in my life. Whatever I have been able, during the past fifteen years, to achieve in the field of scholarship is due directly to him. The financial assistance with which he backed up my activities was the least of his contributions. But for his love of scholarship with which he inspired me, this chapter of my life would have been entirely different. To his sacred memory I am penning these few lines. This volume is brought out in his memory.

Babu Shri Bahadur Singhji was born in Azimganj, Murshidabad, in Vikram Samvat 1941, in the ancient family of the Singhis, who were of old the treasurers of the Mughal emperors. The family had passed through many vicissitudes of fortune and in the 17th century it migrated from Rajaputana to Bengal, but thanks to the energy and enterprise of Singhiji's father, Babu Dalchandji Singhi, the family firm became a very flourishing concern.

At an early age Singhiji joined the family business and by pushing ahead with father's enterprises, succeeded in making the firm the foremost in the mining industry of Bengal and Central India. Besides he also acquired vast zamindaries and had interests in many industrial and banking concerns. This early preoccupation with business affairs prevented his having a college education. But Singhiji was studious and introspective by nature. Unlike many other wealthy men who spend their money and time in such fads as the races, the theatres, and the like, he devoted all his spare time to study and cultural development. He acquired an excellent command over several languages. Art and literature were the subjects of his choice. He was very fond of collecting rare and invaluable specimens of ancient sculpture, paintings, coins, copperplates and inscriptions. His manuscript collection contained a large number of rare works of historical and cultural importance, among which mention must be made of a unique manuscript of the Koran which was handed down from Baber to Aurangzeb and bears the autographs of all of them. It is recorded therein that it was considered by them all as more valuable than the empire.

*

His numismatic collection, especially of Kushan and Gupta coins, is considered the third best in the world. He also had a good and large collection of works of art and historical importance. Singhiji was a Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts (London), a member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, the Indian Research Institute and a Founder-Member of the Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan. He was also the President of the Jain Swetambara Conference held in Bombay 1926. Though he had made no special study of law he was well up in the legal matters. On one occasion when he found that his lawyers were nor properly representing his case he himself pleaded out the case succesfully, much to the surprise of the bench and the bar who took him for an accomplished advocate.

Though a highly religious and leading figure in the Jain Community he had an outlook which was far from sectarian. More than three-fourths of the six lakhs and over of his donations were for non-Jain causes. More often than not he preferred to give his assistance anonymously and he did not keep a list of his donations even when they were made in his name. To the Chittaranjan Seva Sadan, Calcutta, he gave Rs. 10,000/-, when Mahatmaji had been to his place for the collection of funds; to the Hindu Accademy, Daultapur, Rs. 15,000/-, to the Taraqi-Urdu Bangala 5000/-, the Hindi Sahitya Parishad 12,500/-, to the Vishuddhanand Sarasvati Marwari Hospital 10,000/-, to several maternity homes 2,500/-, to the Benares Hindu University 2,500/-, to the Jiaganj High School 5,000/-, to the Jiaganj London Mission Hospital 6000/-, to the Jain Temples at Calcutta and Murshidabad 11,000/-, to the Jain Dharma Pracharak Sabha, Manbhum 5,000/-, to the Jain Bhavan, Calcutta, 15,000/-, to the Jain Pustak Prachar Mandal, Agra, 7,500/-, to the Agra Jain Temple 3,500/-, to the Ambala Jain High School, 2,100/-, for the Prakrit Kosh 2,500/-, and the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan 10,000/-. At the Singhi Park Mela held at his Ballyganj residence in which Viscount Wavell, then Commander-in-Chief and Lord John Herbert, Governor of Bengal and Lady Herbert participated, he donated Rs. 41,000/-, for the Red Cross Fund.

The people of the district of Murshidabad, his native place, will ever remain grateful to him for having distributed several thousand maunds of rice at the low price of Rs. 8/- when rice was selling at Rs. 24/- in those terrible years of 1942-52, himself thereby suffering a loss of over three lakhs. In May-June 1944 he again spent Rs. 50 000/- for the distribution of cloth, rice and coins for the people of that place.

My close association with Singhiji began in 1931, when he invited me to occupy the Chair for Jain Studies which he was starting at the Vishvabharati. Due to unfavourable climatic conditions of Shantiniketan I could not continue to work there for more than four years, but during those years was founded the Singhi Jain Series. During the period of ten years of my principalship of Gujarat Puratattva Mandir, Ahmedabad, and even before that I had been collecting materials of historical and philological importance and folk-lore etc. which had been lying hidden in the great Jain Bhandars of Patan, Ahmedabad, Baroda etc. I persuaded Singhiji to start

a series which would publish works dealing with the vast materials in my possession, and also other important Jain texts and studies prepared on the most modern scientific lines. On the works of the Series he spent through me more than Rs. 75, 000/-. During this long period of over a dozen years he not even once asked me as to how and for what works the amount was spent. Whenever the account was submitted he did not ask for even the least information, but sanctioned it casting merely a formal glance on the accounts sheets. But he showed the most discriminating interest in the matter that was being published and on the material and manner in which they were being brought out. His only desire was to see the publication of as many works as possible during his lifetime. In May 1943 at my instance he gave over the Series to the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. In September 1943 I had been to Calcutta to negotiate the purchase, for the Bhavan, of a well-equipped library of a retired professor. Sihghiji casually asked me what arrangements had been made for meeting the cost. I promptly replied that there was no cause for worry as long as donors like himself were there. He smiled; he had decided. Eventually he pursuaded me to go in for the Nahar Collection which was a still more valuable one. He did not live long enough to present this literary treasure to the Bhavan; but his eldest son and my beloved friend, Babu Shrī Rajendra Singh has fulfilled his father's wish though he was totally ignorant of it and has got this unique collection for the Bhavan and spent Rs. 50,000/- for the purpose.

By the end of 1943 his health began to decline. In the first week of January, 1944, when I went to him at Calcutta in connection with the work of the Bharatiya Itihasa Samiti I found him extremely unwell. Notwithstanding his ill-health he talked to me for more than a couple of hours on the day of my arrival there. The first thing he said in the course of this lengthy, though very sweet talk, was to give me a mild reproof for undertaking the long and tedious journeys to Calcutta, Benaras and Cawnpore in spite of my ill health. He discussed with absorbing interest the details of the Samiti's proposed History of India, a subject of great interest to him. Our talks then drifted to the subject of the History of Jainism in which connection also he expressed his opinion about the material to be utilised for such a work. At the termination of our talks, which this time lasted for over three hours, I found him much exhausted and drooping in spirits.

On the 7th January his health took a turn for the worse. On 11th January I went to take leave of him, which he, full of emotion, gave with a heavy heart, exclaiming "Who knows whether we shall meet again or not?" I requested him to take heart and remain buoyant. He would be soon restored to normal health. But while I was stepping out of his room, my eyes were full of tears and his last words began to eat into my heart. Ill-luck prevented our second meeting. That lofty and generous soul finally left its mortal habitat at mid-day on 7th July, 1944. May his soul rest in peace!

His sons, Babu Rajendra Singh, Babu Narendra Singh and Babu Virendra Singh are treading in the footsteps of their revered father. During

the past year on the Singhi Series alone they have spent over Rs. 20,000/-. I have already mentioned how Babu Rajendra Singh purchased for the Bhavan the valuable Nahar collection. Babu Narendra Singh has also spent Rs. 30,000/- for a foundation of a Jain Bhavan at Calcutta. Babu Rajendra Singh and Babu Narendra Singh have also very generously promised me to continue to meet all the expenses of the Singhi Jain Series and requested me to bring out as many works as possible, at whatever cost so that this unique series founded and cherished by their late lamented father may continue to bring to light the invaluable treasures of Jain literature and culture.

In recognition of his unique assistance the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan has decided to perpetuate Singhiji's memory by naming its Indological library after him. Further, one of its main halls will bear his name. The Bhavan's Jain Department will also be known as the **Singhi Jain Shikshapith.**†

July 1, 1945.
BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVANA
BOMBAY.

Jina Vijaya Muni

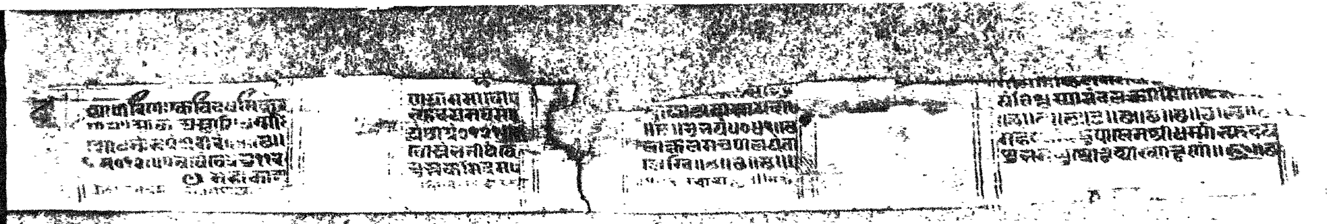
† Reprinted from Babu Shri Bahadur Singhji Singhi Memorial Volume of the *Bharatiya Vidya*, [Volume V] 1945.

107 B

108 A

108 B

Last two folios (No. 107b and 108a-b) of a palmleaf ms. of the Jītakalpa-cūrṇi-vyākhyā of Śrīcandrasūri, copied down in 1284 V. S. (1228 A. D.), which may be taken as a rare remain of the public libraries established by Vastupāla (Vide Paras 220 and 61 n.).



Handwritings of Vastupāla—last folio of the palmleaf ms. of the Dharmābhyudaya Mahākāvya copied down by him in 1290 V. S. i. e. 1234 A. D. (Vide Para 62).

PREFACE

MAHĀMĀTYA VASTUPĀLA, the prime-minister of the Vāghelā king of Dhavalakka or Dholkā in Gujarāt during the first half of the 13th century A. D., was not only a prominent political figure of his times, but also a great patron of literature and art, a great builder of monuments and a man of letters. Under his patronage there flourished a literary group whose activities made a notable contribution to mediaeval Sanskrit literature in its various forms, both creative and Śāstric.

The life and works of Mahāmātya Vastupāla have attracted the attention of scholars for the last several decades. Prof. A. V. Kāthavaṭe has given a short sketch of Vastupāla's life and works as early as 1883 in his Introduction to the Kīrtikaumudī of Someśvara published in the Bombay Sanskrit Series (No. XXV) and Dr. Bühler dealt with the same topic when he made a critical analysis of the contents of the Sukṛtasaṁkīrtana of Arisiṁha in a paper published in 1889[1].

The Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Pt. I (History of Gujarāt), published in 1896, devotes a chapter to the history of the Vāghelās, a few pages (pp. 198–203) of which are given to the political career of Vastupāla. Divān Bahādur Ranchhoḍbhāi Udayarām, the Gujarātī translator of Forbe's Rāsmālā, added a supplement about the Vāghelās in the second edition of his translation published in 1899 and collected therein many facts about the personal history and political career of Vastupāla. The same subject was discussed by Mr. Vallabhjī Haridatta Ācārya in his Introduction to the versified Gujarātī translation of Someśvara's Kīrtikaumudī published in 1908. Mr. Chimanlāl D. Dalāl also dealt with it from various points of view, very briefly of course, in his Introductions to the Naranārāyaṇānanda of Vastupāla, Vasantavilāsa of Bālacandra and Hammīramadamardana of Jayasiṁhasūri, published in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series. Recently, in 1939, Mr. Durgāshankar K. Shāstrī devoted, in the second volume of his Gujarātī work, Gujarātano Madhyakālīn Rājput Itihāsa, a few pages (pp. 381–395) to the life and works of Vastupāla, giving one or two paragraphs (pp. 394–95) to Vastupāla's patronage of literature.

However, during the last five or six decades, after Kāthavaṭe, Bühler, Ranchhoḍbhāi and Ācārya wrote their essays, many important sources —both literary and epigraphic—bearing on the life and works of Vastupāla have been discovered and several of his own compositions—a Mahākāvya and four Stotras—have been unearthed from the old manuscript-libraries at Pāṭaṇ and other places. The historical and biographical details about several figures in the literary circle of Vastupāla have become known and

---

1 The original German paper was published in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Imperial Academy of Vienna (Vol. CXIX, 1889) and an English translation of the same–The Sukṛtasaṁkīrtana of Arisiṁha–was printed in the Indian Antiquary, Vol XXXI, pp. 477 ff.

their works are brought to light. Though a considerable part of these literary productions is unprinted as yet and is available only in manuscript-form they constitute important data for purposes of study.

Here I may state that the scholars mentioned above have dealt with only some aspects of Vastupāla's life and that none of them has treated the subject as a whole and exhaustively and that in the matter of contribution to Sanskrit literature by Vastupāla and his circle, there has been only a very scanty discussion. Further, these scholars had no opportunity to utilize all the new material discovered up to date. Thus there was scope enough for an adequate treatment of Vastupāla's life and especially for a critical account of his own and his circle's contribution to Sanskrit literature. The present work is an attempt to study the topic critically from the historical, the biographical and the literary points of view.

The work has been divided into three parts. The *first part*—viz. Introductory—presents in brief the cultural and literary background and deals with the past literary and scholastic traditions of Gujarāt with a view to studying the life and works of Vastupāla and his circle in their proper perspective. The *second part*—viz. Mahāmātya Vastupāla and His Literary Circle—deals with the personal and political history of Vastupāla and studies critically Vastupāla's role as a great patron of literature and art and a man of letters. Moreover, it tries to present all the available biographical details, in an authenticated form, about the known literary figures in Vastupāla's circle. Thus the first two parts of the book are devoted to the study of the historical and biographical material.

The *third part*—viz. Contribution to Sanskrit Literature—makes a critical survey of the contribution of Vastupāla and his circle to different branches of literature. First, I have dealt with the creative forms of literature, like Mahākāvya, Nāṭaka, Praśasti, Stotra, anthology, Dharmakathā, Prabandha, Apabhraṁśa Rāsas etc., and then with the Śāstric forms, like the works on poetics, grammar, metrics, Nyāya, astrology and commentaries on Jaina religious works[1]. And at the end of the book, I have added a *Conclusion* summarising the main currents of the whole treatment

While preparing the present work I have tried my best to consult all the available sources, published or in manuscript-from in Sanskrit, Prākrit, Apabhraṁśa and Old Gujarātī, and have also gone through all the

1 Section I of chapter VI (Historical Mahākāvyas) and chapter VIII (Praśastis) etc. will be found to have some portions of the subject-matter repeated to a certain extent. This was rather inevitable, because all the four historical Mahākāvyas and all the Praśastis are sources of contemporary history and at the same time they are literary compositions having Vastupāla as their hero. In this work dealing with the history as well as literature of mediaeval Gujarāt, I have utilized these for both the purposes, and hence while analysing the plots of the historical poems etc. from the literary point of view at least a few things had to be repeated.

known research-works pertaining to the subject in English, Hindi and Gujarātī.

As considerable part of the literary sources pertaining to Vastupāla and his circle of poets and scholars and to their compositions is not printed as yet, I had to procure a large number of manuscripts—about forty in all—written on palm-leaves and on paper for the purpose of this study. It was through the good offices of Muni Śrī Puṇyavijayajī that I had free access to the famous manuscript-libraries at Pāṭaṇ, and also at Baroda and Chāṇī, a village near Baroda. Moreover, I had to consult several manuscripts from Jaina Bhaṇḍārs at Cambay, Ahmedabad and Chāṇasmā, and I am grateful to the authorities of the Bhaṇḍārs for giving me facilities for work. I am also thankful to Prof. P. K. Gode, Curator, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, for putting at my disposal some of the required manuscripts for a long time, and to Muni Śrī Kāntivijayajī for the loan of copies of some unpublished works. I am indebted to Prof. K. V. Abhyankar, Paṇḍit Sukhlāljī and Śrī Jitendra Jeṭly, M.A., Nyāyācārya, for useful suggestions, to Prof. C. N. Patel, M. A., for going through the press-copy and to Śrī Suresh H. Joshi, M.A., for preparing the Index.

The work was prepared when I was Professor of Gujarātī and Ardhamāgadhī at the B. J. Institute of Learning and Research, Gujarāt Vidyā Sabhā, Ahmedabad, and I take this opportunity to express my deep sense of gratitude to Prof. R. C. Parikh, Director of the Institute, for helping me in a variety of ways in the prosecution of my research and also for the invaluable facility of the Institute's very rich library. I also acknowledge my indebtedness to the University of Bombay for the grant-in-aid received by me from the University towards the cost of publication of this work.

Last but not the least, I heartily thank Ācārya Śrī Jinavijayajī for including this work for publication in the reputed Singhi Jaina Series.

'Adhyapak Nivas,'
University Road,
BARODA
27th October 1952

BHOGILAL J. SANDESARA

CONTENTS

(iii) NĀNĀKA (56–58); Family-history of Nānāka–56; Nānāka patronised by Vīsaladeva–57; Nānāka–a patron of poets–57; Nānāka's praise of Vastupāla–57.

(iv) YAŚOVĪRA (58–61): Yaśovīra-a close friend of Vastupāla –58; Yaśovīra's knowledge of the Śilpaśāstra–59; Yaśovīra: a poet and a patron of literature–60.

(v) SUBHAṬA: 57.

(vi) ARISIṀHA (61–64): Arisiṁha and Amaracandra–61; The Sukṛtasaṁkīrtana and its date–62.

(vii) AMARACANDRASŪRI (64–68): Amaracandra–a Sādhu of the Vāyaḍa gachha–64; Possibly a Vāyaḍā Brāhmin before he became a monk–64; Amaracandra at the court of Vīsaladeva; Amaracandra and Arisiṁha–65; Literary works of Amaracandra–66; Amaracandra's relations with the minister Padma–66; Chronology of Amaracandra's works–67; Amaracandra nick-named Veṇī-Kṛpāṇa–68; Image of Amaracandra installed in a temple–68.

(viii) VIJAYASENASŪRI (69–70): Vijayasenasūri–Vastupāla's family-preceptor–69; Genealogy of the Nāgendra gachha–69; Intimate relations of Vijayasena with Vastupāla's family–69; Vijayasena–a scholar and a poet–70; Death of Vijayasena–70.

(ix) UDAYAPRABHASŪRI (71–72): Udayaprabhasūri–junior in age to Vastupāla–71; Literary works of Udayaprabha; he is different from Udayaprabha, author of the Ṭippaṇas on the three Karmagranthas, etc.–71.

(x) JINABHADRA: 72.

(xi) NARACANDRASŪRI (73–75): Naracandra–Vastupāla's Guru on the maternal side–73; Literary works of Naracandra–73; Date of Naracandra's death–75.

(xii) NARENDRAPRABHASŪRI (75–76): Composition of the Alaṁkāramahodadhi at Vastupāla's request–75; Other works of Narendraprabha–75.

(xiii) BĀLACANDRA (76–78): Genealogy of Bālacandra's teachers–76; Bālacandra's personal history and his contact with Vastupāla–77; Literary works of Bālacandra–77.

(xiv) JAYASIṀHASŪRI (78–79): Hammīramadamardana and Vastupāla–Tejapāla Praśasti–78; This Jayasiṁhasūri different from the author of the Kumārapālacarita and Dharmopadeśamālā–79.

(xv) MĀṆIKYACANDRA (79–81): Date of the composition of the Saṁketa–79; Māṇikyacandra's contact with Vastupāla–81.

MINOR POETS AND SCHOLARS (81–83): Madana and his rivalry with Harihara–81; Pālhaṇaputra, Cācariyāka and others–82; Vastupāla's family-members credited with poetic achievements–83.

ANONYMOUS POETS: 83–84.

PART III: CONTRIBUTION TO SANSKRIT LITERATURE

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(A) PRINTED WORKS

ENGLISH

ALTEKAR, A. S.,

A History of Important Towns and Cities in Gujarat and Kathiawad, Bombay, 1928.

BANERJI, R. D.,

The Age of the Imperial Guptas, Benares, 1933.

BEAL, SAMUEL,

Budhhist Records of the Western World (2 vols.), London, 1884.

BELVALKAR, S. K.,

Systems of Sanskrit Grammar, Poona, 1915.

BROWN PERCY,

Indian Architecture (Budhhist and Hindu), Bombay, 1942.

BÜHLER, G.,

The Life of Hemacandrācārya (Eng. trans.), Ahmedabad, 1936.

BURGESS, J. and COUSENS, M.,

The Antiquities of Dabhoi in Gujarat, Edinburgh, 1888.

CAMPBELL, SIR JAMES M.,

Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Pt. I. (History of Gujarat), Bombay, 1896.
Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. VIII (Kathiawad), Bombay, 1884.

COMMISSARIAT, M. S.,

A History of Gujarat, Vol. 1, Bombay, 1938.

COOMARSWAMY, A. K.,

History of Indian and Indonesian Art, London, 1927.

COUSENS, HENRY,

The Architectural Antiquities of Western India, London, 1926.

DANDEKAR, R. N.,

History of the Guptas, Poona, 1941.

DASGUPTA, N. S, and DE, S. K.,

History of Sanskrit Literature, Classical Period, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1947.

DASGUPTA, SURENDRANATHA,

A History of Indian Philosophy, Vol. I, Cambridge, 1922.

DE, NUNDO LAL,

The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India, London, 1927.

DE, S. K.,

Studies in the History of Sanskrit Poetics (2 vols.), London, 1923 and 1925.

FERGUSSON, JAMES,

History of Indian and Eastern Architecture (2 vols.), London, 1910.

FORBES, A. K.,

Rāmsālā (2 vols.), Oxford, 1924.

GADRE, A. S.,

Some Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State, Baroda, 1943.

HERTEL, JOHANNES,

On the Literature of the Shvetambaras of Gujarat, Leipzig, 1922.

HANDIQUI, KRISHNAKANT,

Naishadhīyacarita (trans.), Lahore, 1934.
Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture, Sholapur, 1949.

KANE, P. V.,

A History of Sanskrit Poetics, Bombay, 1923.

KEITH, A. B.,

Classical Sanskrit Literature, 3rd ed., Calcutta, 1932.

History of Sanskrit Literature, Oxford, 1928.

Indian Logic and Atomism, Oxford, 1921.

Sanskrit Drama, Oxford, 1924.

KRISHNAMACHARIAR, M.,

History of Classical Sanskrit Literature, Madras, 1937.

MACDONELL, A. A.,

A History of Sanskrit Literature, New York and London, 1929.

MUNSHI, K. M.,

Gujarat and its Literature, Bombay, 1935.
The Glory that was Gurjaradeśa, Pt. III–Imperial Gurjaras, Bombay, 1944.

PARGITER, F. EDEN,

Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (trans.), Calcutta, 1904.

PARIKH, RASIKLAL C.,

Kāvyānuśāsana of Hemacandra, Vol. II, Introduction, Bombay, 1938.

RANDLE, H. N.,

Indian Logic in the Early Schools, Oxford University Press, 1930.

SANKALIA, H. D.,

Archaeology of Gujarat, Bombay, 1941.

SASTRI, HIRANANDA,

The Ruins of Dabhoi or Darbhavati, Baroda, 1940.

;HAH, CHIMANLAL J.,

Jainism in North India, London, 1932.

;HASTRI, H. G.,

Data Supplied by the Sanskrit Inscriptions of the Valabhī Kingdom unpublished).

MITH, VINCENT A.,

Early History of India, 4th ed., Oxford, 1924.

'AWNY, C. H.,

Prabandhacintāmaṇi or Wishing-stone of Narratives (trans.), alcutta 1901.

'OD, JAMES,

Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan (3 vols.), London, 1920.

IDYABHUSHAN, SATISCANDRA,

A History of Indian Logic, Calcutta, 1921.

'ATTERS, THOMAS,

On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, 629–645 A.D. (2 vols.), ondon, 1904.

'INTERNITZ, MAURICE,

A History of Indian Literature, Vol. 1 and II, Calcutta, 1927 and 933.

SANSKRIT AND PRĀKRIT

KALAṀKADEVA,

Akalaṁkagranthatrayam (edited by Mahendrakumār Śhastrī), hmedabad-Calcutta, 1939.

MARACANDRASŪRI,

Kāvyakalpalatā-vṛtti (edited by Pt. Jagannātha Śāstrī Hoshang), enares, 1931.

Caturviṁśati-Jinendra-Saṁkṣipta-Caritāni (printed in the appendix the Padmānanda Mahākāvya).

Padmānanda Mahākāvya (edited by H. R. Kapadia), Baroda, 1932.

Bālabhārata (edited by Pt. Śivadatta and K. P. Parab), Bombay, 394.

Syādiśabdasamuccaya (edited by Pt. L. B. Gandhi), Benares, Vīra :a 2441.

RISIṀHA,

Sukṛtasaṁkīrtana (edited by Muni Caturavijaya), Bhavnagar, 1917.

DAYAPRABHASŪRI, pupil of VIJAYASENASŪRI,

Ārambhasidhhi (edited by Muni Jitendravijaya), Chani, 1942.

Dharmābhyudya Mahākāvya (edited by Muni Puṇyavijayaji),

Vastupālastuti (shortly to be published in the collection of contemporary works about Vastupāla, in the Singhi Jaina Series).

Sukṛtakīrtikallolinī (printed in the appendix to the Hammīramadamardana of Jayasiṁhasūri).

KĀLIDĀSA,

Abhijñānaśākuntala (edited by N. B. Godbole), 8th ed., Bombay, 1922.

Raghuvaṁśa (edited by K. P. Parab and V. L. Panashikar), 6th ed., Bombay, 1910.

KINJAVAḌEKAR, RĀMACANDRA ŚĀSTRĪ (ed.),

Mahābhārata, Śāntiparvan, with the commentary of Nīlakaṇṭha, Poona, 1932.

KṢEMENDRA,

Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa, Aucityavicāracarcā and Suvṛttatilaka (edited by Dhuṇḍirāj Shāstrī), Benares, 1933.

CATURAVIJAYA, pupil of AMARAVIJAYA (ed.),

Jaina Stotra Samuccaya, Bombay, 1928.

Jaina Stotra Sandoha, Vol. I, Ahmedabad, 1932.

JAYASIṀHASŪRI of the Kṛṣṇa Gachha,

Kumārapālacarita Mahākāvya (edited by Kṣāntivijaya Gaṇi), Bombay, 1926.

Nyāyatātparyadīpikā on the Nyāyasāra of Bhāsarvajña (edited by Satischandra Vidyabhushan), Calcutta, 1910.

JAYASIṀHASŪRI, pupil of KṚṢṆA,

Dharmopadeśamālā Prakaraṇa (edited by Pt. L. B. Gandhi), Bombay, 1949.

JAYASIṀHASŪRI, pupil of VĪRASŪRI,

Hammīramadamardana Nāṭaka (edited by C. D. Dalal), Baroda, 1920.

Vastupāla-Tejapāla Praśasti (printed in the appendix to the HMM).

JAHLAṆA,

Sūktimuktāvali (edited by Embar Krishnamacarya), Baroda, 1938.

JINADATTASŪRI,

Vivekavilāsa (edited by B. F. Karbhari), Bombay, 1911.

JINAPRABHASŪRI,

Vividhatīrthakalpa (edited by Jinavijaya Muni), Ahmedabad and Calcutta, 1934.

JINABHADRA and other anonymous authors,

Purātanaprabandhasaṁgraha (edited by Jinavijaya Muni), Ahmedabad and Calcutta, 1936.

JINABHADRAGAṆI KṢAMĀŚRAMAṆA,

Jītakalpa-cūrṇi (edited by Jinavijaya Muni), Saṁvat, 1983.

Viśeṣāvaśyaka Bhāṣya (editor and year of publication not mentioned), Rutlam.

JINAMAṆḌANA,

Kumārapāla Prabandha (edited by Muni Caturavijaya), Bhavnagar, Saṁvat, 1971.

JINAVIJAYA MUNI (ed.),

Jaina Pustaka Praśasti Saṁgraha, Vol. I, Bombay, 1943.

JINAHARṢA,

Vastupālacarita (edited by Muni Kirtivijaya), Ahmedabad, 1941.

DAṆḌIN,

Kāvyādarśa (edited and translated by S. K. Belvalkar), Poona, 1924.

DEVAPRABHASŪRI,

Pāṇḍavacarita Mahākāvya (edited by Pt. Kedāranātha and V. L. Panashikar), Bombay, 1911.

DEVEŚVARA,

Kavikalpalatā (edited by Pt. Saratcandra Śāstrī), fasc. I-II, Calcutta, 1913-23.

DHARMADĀSA GAṆI,

Upadeśamālā (editor not mentioned), Jamnagar, 1939.

NAYACANDRASŪRI,

Hammīra Mahākāvya (edited by N. J. Kirtane), Bombay, 1879.

NARACANDRASŪRI, pupil of DEVAPRABHASŪRI,

Jyotiḥsāra (published in the Jaina Jyotirgrantha-Saṁgraha edited by Upādhyāya Kṣamāvijayaji), Bombay, 1938.

Vastupālapraśasti (printed in the appendix to the Alaṁkāramahodadhi of Narendraprabhasuri).

NARENDRAPRABHASŪRI.

Alaṁkāramahodadhi (edited by Pt. L. B. Gandhi), Baroda, 1942.

Two Vastupālapraśastis (printed in the appendix to the AM).

NEMICANDRA,

Uttarādhyayana-Ṭīkā (edited by Vijaya Umaṁgasūri), Valad, 1937.

PŪRṆABHADRA,

Pañcākhyāna (edited by Dr. J. Hertel), Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1908.

PRADYUMNASŪRI,

Samarāditya-Saṁkṣepa (edited by Muni Umaṁgavijaya), Ambala, 1926.

PRABHĀCANDRĀCĀRYA (Digambara),

Prameyakamalamārtaṇḍa (edited by Mahendrakumār Śāstri), 2nd ed., Bombay, 1941.

PRABHĀCANDRĀCĀRYA (Śvetāmbara),

Prabhāvakacarita (edited by Jinavijaya Muni), Bombay, 1940.

PRAHLĀDANADEVA,

Pārthaparākrama Vyāyoga (edited by C. D. Dalal), Baroda, 1917.

BĀṆA,

Caṇḍīśataka (edited by Pt. Durgāprasāda and K. P. Parab), Bombay, 1887.

BĀLACANDRA,

Karuṇāvajrāyudha (edited by Muni Caturavijaya), Bhavnagar, 1916.

Vasantavilāsa Mahākāvya (edited by C. D. Dalal), Baroda, 1917.

Vivekamañjarī-Ṭīkā (edited by Pt. Hargovindadas), Benares, Saṁvat 1975.

BHAṬṬĀRAKA JAYARĀŚI,

Tattvopaplavasiṁha (edited by Pt. Sukhalālji and Prof. R. C. Parikh), Baroda, 1940.

BHADRABĀHU,

Kalpasūtra (edited by H. Jacobi), Leipzig, 1879.

BHARATA,

Nāṭyaśāstra (edited by M. Ramkrishna Kavi), Vol. I–II, Baroda, 1926–34; (edited by Baṭukanātha Śarmā and Baladeva Upādhyāya), Benares, 1929.

BHAVADATTA ŚĀSTRĪ and K. P. PARAB (ed.),

Prācīna Lekhamālā, Bombay, 1903.

BHĀRAVI,

Kirātārjunīya (edited by Pt. Durgāprasāda and K. P. Parab), 5th ed., Bombay, 1903.

MAMMAṬA,

Kāvyaprakāśa (edited with Māṇikyacandra's Saṁketa by Vāsudeva Śāstrī Abhyankar), Poona, 1929.

MAYŪRA,

Sūryaśataka (edited by Pt. Durgāprasāda and V. L. Panashikar), 3rd ed., Bombay, 1927.

MALLA VĀDIN,

Nayacakra (edited by Vijayalabdhisūri), Vol. I, Chani, Saṁvat 2004.

MĀGHA,

Śiśupālavadha (edited by Pt. Durgāprasāda and Pt. Śivadatta), 7th ed., Bombay, 1917.

MĀṆIKYACANDRA,

Kāvyaprakāśa-Saṁketa (edited by Vāsudeva Śāstrī Abhyankar), Poona, 1929.

MURĀRI,

Anargharāghava Nāṭaka (edited by Pt. Durgāprasāda and K. P. Parab), Bombay, 1887.

MEGHAPRABHĀCĀRYA,

Dharmābhyudaya Nāṭaka (edited by Muni Puṇyavijayajī), Bhavnagar, 1918.

MERUTUṀGĀCĀRYA,

Prabandhacintāmaṇi (edited by Muni Jinavijaya), Ahmedabad and Calcutta, 1933.

MERUTUṀGĀCĀRYA (second),

Vicāraśreṇi (printed in the Jaina Sāhitya Saṁśodhaka, May 1925).

MODI, RĀMLĀL C. (ed.),

Vāyupurāṇa, Purāṇa of the caste of the Vāyaḍā Brāhmins and Baniās, Ahmedabad, 1944.

YAŚAḤAPĀLA,

Moharājaparājaya (edited by Muni Caturavijaya), Baroda, 1918.

YAŚAŚCANDRA,

Mudritakumudacandra Prakaraṇa (editor not mentioned), Benares. Vīra era 2432.

RATNAMANDIRA GAṆI,

Upadeśataraṁginī (editor not mentioned), Benares, Vīra era 2437.

RĀJAŚEKHARA,

Kāvyamīmāṁsā (edited by C. D. Dalal and R. A. Śhāstrī), 3rd ed., Baroda, 1934.

Bālarāmāyaṇa Nāṭaka (edited by Govindadeva Śhāstrī), Benares, 1896.

RĀJAŚEKHARASŪRI,

Prabandhakośa or Caturviṁśati Prabandha (edited by Jinavijaya Muni), Ahmedabad and Calcutta, 1935.

RĀMACANDRA and GUṆACANDRA,

Nāṭyadarpaṇa (edited by G. K. Shrigondekar and L. B. Gandhi), Vol. I, Baroda, 1929.

RĀMABHADRA,

Prabudhharauhiṇeya (edited by Muni Puṇyavijaya), Bhavnagar, 1918.

LELE, VYAṀKAṬEŚA ŚĀSTRĪ (ed.),

Bṛhat Stotra Ratnahāra, Bombay, 1925.

VATSARĀJA,

Rūpakaṣaṭkam (edited by C. D. Dalal), Baroda, 1918.

VASTUPĀLA,

Ambikā Stotra (to be published shortly in the collection of contemporary literature about Vastupāla, in the Singhi Jaina Series).

Ādinātha Stotra (printed in the appendix to the NN; also to be published in the above-mentioned collection).

Ārādhanā (to be published in the above-mentioned collection).

Naranārāyaṇānanda Mahākāvya (edited by C. D. Dalal), Baroda, 1916.

Neminātha Stotra (to be published in the above-mentioned collection).

VĀGBHAṬA (elder),

Vāgbhaṭālaṁkāra (edited by Pt. Śivadatta and V. L. Panashikar), 5th ed., Bombay, 1933.

VĀGBHAṬA (younger),

Kāvyānuśāsana (edited by Pt. Śivadatta and K. P. Parab), Bombay, 1915.

VADĪ DEVASŪRI,

Syādvādaratnākara (edited by Motilāl Lādhāji), Poona, Vīra era 2453–57 (in 5 volumes).

VIJAYAPĀLA,

Draupadīsvayaṁvara (edited by Muni Jinavijaya), Bhavnagar, 1918.

VIJAYARĀJENDRASŪRI,

Abhidhānarājendra, Vol. II, Ratlam, 1914.

VIŚVANĀTHA,

Sāhityadarpaṇa (edited by P. V. Kane), Bombay, 1923.

ŚĀRṀGADEVA,

Saṁgītaratnākara (edited by M. R. Telang), in two vols. Poona, 1897.

ŚĀRṀGADHARA,

Śārṁgadhara Padhhati (edited by P. Peterson), Bombay. 1888.

ŚRĪDHARA,

Nyāyakandalī (edited by Vindhyeśvarīprasāda Dvivedī), Benares, 1895.

ŚRĪHARṢA,

Naiṣadhīyacarita (edited by Pt. Śivadatta), 7th ed., Bombay, 1936.

SAṀGHADĀSA GAṆI,

Vasudeva-Hiṇḍi, Prathama Khaṇḍa (edited by Muni Caturavijaya and Muni Puṇyavijaya), Vol. I-II, Bhavnagar, 1930–31.

SIDHHARṢI,

Upadeśamālā-Ṭīkā (editor not mentioned), Jamnagar. 1939.
Upamitibhavaprapañcakathā (edited by P. Peterson and H. Jacobi), Calcutta, 1899 to 1914.

SIDHHASENA DIVĀKARA,

Dvātriṁśad Dvātriṁśikā (editor not mentioned), Bhavnagar, Saṁvat, 1965.

SUBHAṬA,

Dūtāṁgada Chāyā Nāṭaka (edited by Pt. Durgāprasāda and K. P. Parab), Bombay, 1891.

SOMADEVA BHAṬṬA,

Kathāsaritsāgara (edited by Pt. Durgāprasāda and K. P. Parab), 4th ed., Bombay, 1930.

SOMADHARMA GAṆI,

Upadeśasaptati (edited by Amritlal Mohanlal), Ahmedabad, Saṁvat, 1998.

SOMAPRABHĀCĀRYA,

Kumārapālapratibodha (edited by Jinavijaya Muni), Baroda, 1920.

SOMEŚVARA,

Kīrtikaumudī Mahākāvya (edited by A. V. Kathavate), Bombay, 1883.
Surathotsava Mahākāvya (edited by Pt. Śivadatta and K. P. Parab), Bombay, 1902.

HARIṢEṆA ĀCĀRYA,

Bṛhat Kathākośa (edited by Dr. A. N. Upadhye), Bombay, 1943.

HEMACANDRA,

Kāvyānuśāsana, Vol. I, text (edited by R. C. Parikh), Bombay, 1938.
Chandonuśāsana (editor not mentioned), Bombay, 1912.
Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra (editor not mentioned), Bhavnagar 1906-13,
Dvyāśraya Mahākāvya (edited by A. V. Kathavate), Vols. I-II, Bombay, 1915-21.
Prākṛta Vyākaraṇa (edited by P. L. Vaidya), Poona, 1928.

ANONYMOUS,

Lekhapadhhati (edited by C. D. Dalal and G. K. Shrigondekar), Baroda, 1925.

BHĀGAVATA PURĀṆA, published by the Veṁkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay.

SAMAVĀYĀṀGA SŪTRA, published by the Āgamodaya Samiti, Saṁvat, 1974.

STHĀNĀṀGA SŪTRA, published by the Āgamodaya Samiti, in two vols., Saṁvat 1976.

APABHRAMŚA AND OLD GUJARĀTĪ

KUŚALALĀBHA,

Mādhavānala-Kāmakandalā Prabandha (printed in the Ānanda Kāvya Mahodadhi, vol. VII, Surat, 1926).

GAṆAPATI,

Mādhavānala-Kāmakandalā Prabandha (edited by M. R. Majmudar), Baroda, 1942.

JINAVIJAYA MUNI (ed.),

Prācīna Gujarātī Gadya Sandarbha, Ahmedabad, Saṁvat 1986.

NĀLHA,

Vīsaladeva Rāso (edited by Satyajīvana Varmā), Benares, Saṁvat 1982.

PADMANĀBHA,

Kānhaḍade Prabandha (edited by D. P. Derāsarī), 2nd ed., Ahmedabad, 1926.

PĀRŚVACANDRA,

Vastupāla-Tejapāla Rāsa (printed in the Jaina Sāhitya Saṁśodhaka, Vol. III, no. 1).

PĀLHAṆAPUTRA,

Ābu Rāsa (printed in the Rājasthanī, vol. III, no. 1; also to be published in the collection of contemporary literature about Vastupāla, in the Singhi Jaina Series).

MAṆḌALIKA,

Pethaḍa Rāsa (printed in the Prācīna Gurjara Kāvya Saṁgraha, edited by C. D. Dalal, Baroda, 1920).

MĀṆIKYASUNDARASŪRI,

Pṛthvīcandracaritra (printed in the PGKS and also in PGGS).

MERUVIJAYA,

Vastupāla-Tejapāla Rāsa (edited by Savāibhāi Rāichand), Ahmedabad, 1901.

LAKṢMĪSĀGARASŪRI,

Vastupāla-Tejapāla Rāsa (printed in JSS, Vol. III, no. 1).

VIJAYASENASŪRI,

Revantagiri Rāsu (printed in PGKS).

ŚĀLISŪRI,

Virāṭaparva (printed in the Gurjara Rāsāvali to be published shortly in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series).

ANONYMOUS,

Vasanta Vilāsa—an Old Gujarātī Phāgu (edited by K. B. Vyās), Bombay, 1942.

ANONYMOUS,
Vīravaṁśāvali (printed in JSS, vol. I, no. 3).

GUJARĀTĪ

ACHARYA, GIRJASHANKAR V.,
Historical Inscriptions of Gujarāt, in 3 Vols., Bombay, 1933, 1938 and 1942.

ACHARYA, VALLABHAJI HARIDATTA,
Kīrtikaumudi (trans.), Ahmedabad, 1908.

KAPADIA, HIRALAL RASIKADAS,
Caturviṁśatiprabandha (trans..), Bombay, 1934.

DIVATIA, N. B.,
Manomukura, vol. II, Ahmedabad, 1936.

DESAI, MOHANLAL D.,
Jaina Sāhityano Saṁkṣipta Itihāsa, Bombay, 1933.

DHRUVA, A. B.,
Digdarśana, Ahmedabad, 1942.

PARIKH, R. C., etc. (ed.),
Ācārya Ānandśankara Dhruva Smāraka Grantha, Ahmedabad, 1944.

PAREKH, HIRALAL T.,
Vasanta Rajata Mahotsava Smāraka Grantha, Ahmedabad, 1927.

FARUQI, AMIRMIYAN H.,
Gujarātī Phārasī Arabī Śabdakośa, Ahmedabad, 1926.

BUDHHISAGARASURI,
Bṛhad Vījāpur Vṛttānta, Bombay, 1925.

MUNI JAYANTAVIJAYA,
Ābu, Vol. I. Ujjain, 1933.
Ābu Prācīna Jaina Lekhasaṁgraha, Ujjain, Saṁvat 1994.

MUNI JINAVIJAYA,
Prācīna Jaina Lekhasaṁgraha, vol. II, Bhavnagar, 1921.
Gujarātanā Sāṁskṛtic Itihāsanī Sādhanasāmagrī, Ahmedabad, 1933.

MODI, M. C.,
Hema-Samīkṣā, Ahmedabad, 1942.

RANCHHODABHAI UDAYARAM,
Rāsmālā (trans.), Vols. I–II, 3rd ed., Bombay 1922 and 1927.

SHASTRI, D. K.,
Gujarātano Madhyakālīn Rājput Itihās, vols. I–II, Ahmedabad, 1937 and 1939.
Prabandhacintāmaṇi (trans.), Bombay, 1934.

SHASTRI, RAMAKRISHNA H.,
Sukṛtasaṁkīrtana (trans.), Baroda, 1895.

SANDESARA, B. J.,
Itihāsanī Keḍī, Baroda, 1945.
Pañcatantra (trans.), Bombay, 1949.
Vasudeva-Hiṇḍi (trans.), Bhavnagar, 1946.
Vāghelāonuṁ Gujarāt, Baroda, 1939.

SANGHAVI, SUKHALALJI and PANDIT BECHARDAS,
Sanmati Prakaraṇa (intro. and trans.), Ahmedabad, 1932.

VASTUPĀLACARITA, trans., published by Jaina Dharma Prasāraka Sabhā, Bhavnagar, Saṁvat 1974.

HINDI

OZA, G. H.,
Rājputānekā Itihāsa, vol. I, Ajmer, 1917.

MUNI, KALYANAVIJAYA,
Vīranirvāṇasaṁvat aur Jaina Kālagaṇanā, Jhalor, 1931.

PREMI, NATHURAM,
Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa, Bombay, 1942.

MARATHI

ISLAMPURKAR, PANDIT VAMAN SHASTRI,
Kāvyakalpalatā (trans.), Baroda, 1891.

BENGALI

TARKAVAGISHA, PHANIBHUSHANA,
Nyāyaparicaya, 2nd ed., Calcutta, Bengali era 1347.

CATALOGUES, REPORTS, etc.

AUFRECT,
A Catalogus Catalogorum, 3 vols., Leipzig, 1891, 1896, 1903.

BHANDARKAR, R. G.,
A Report on Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Bombay Province, 1883–84, Bombay, 1887.

GANDHI, L. B.,
A Catalogue of Mss. in the Jain Bhandars at Jesalmere, Baroda, 1923.
A Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Jain Bhandars at Pattan, Vol. I, Baroda, 1937.

GODE, P. K.,
Descriptive Catalogue of the Government collection of Mss. deposited at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, vol. XIV: Nāṭaka, Poona, 1937.

MITRA, RAJENDRALAL,

Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts, Vol. VII, Pt. II, Calcutta, 1884.

MUNI, CHATURAVIJAYA,

Catalogue of Mss in the Jaina Bhandar at Limbadi, (Guj.), Bombay, 1928.

PETERSON, P.,

A Third Report of Operations in Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Circle, 1884-85.

A Fifth Report of Operations in Search of Sanskrit Manucripts in the Bombay Circle, April, 1892-March 1895; Bombay, 1896.

A Sixth Report of Operations in Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Circle, April 1895-March 1898; Bombay, 1899.

SASTRI, HIRANANDA,

Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Baroda State, for the year ending 31st July, 1939; Baroda, 1940.

VELANKAR, H. D.

Jinaratnakośa: An Alphabetical Register of Jaina Works and Authors, vol. I, Works, Poona, 1944.

ANONYMOUS,

Bṛhaṭṭipanikā (Printed in the Jaina Sāhitya Saṁśodhaka, Vol. I, No. 2.)

JAINA GRANTHĀVALI, published by the Jaina Shvetambara Conference, Bombay, Saṁvat 1965,

Proceedings and Transactions of the First Oriental Conference, Vol. I, Poona, 1920.

Proceedings and Transactions of the Seventh All India Oriental Conference, Baroda, 1935.

Proceedings and Transactions of the Fifth Gujarati Literary Conference, Surat, 1919.

Proceedings and Transactions of the Seventh Gujarati Literary Conference, Bhavnagar, 1926.

JOURNALS

ENGLISH,

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute

Epigraphia Indica

Indian Antiquary

Indian Historical Quarterly

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society

Journal of Oriental Studies

Rupam

ENGLISH-GUJARATI

Journal of the Gujarat Research Society

Library Miscellany

HINDI-GUJARATI

Bhāratīya Vidyā

GUJARATI

Jaina Yuga
Jaina Satyaprakāśa
Jaina Sāhitya Saṁśodhaka
Purātattva
Forbes Gujarātī Sabhā Traimāsika
Budhhiprakāśa
Vasant

HINDI

Nagarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā
Rājasthānī
Viśāla Bhārata

(B) MANUSCRIPTS

[Manuscripts other than those which are expressly mentioned as written on palm-leaves are on paper.

The year of copying has been mentioned in case of dated manuscripts.]

AMARACANDRASŪRI,

Kāvyakalpalatā-Parimala (nos. 2646 and 9511 of Śrī Hemacandrācārya Jaina Jñāna-Mandira, Pāṭaṇ).

Chandoratnāvali (no. 8607 of Śrī Hemacandrācārya Jaina Jñāna-Mandira, Pāṭaṇ, copied down in V. S. 1664; no. 9746 of the same Jñāna-Mandira; no. 447 of Pravartaka Kāntivijayajī Śāstrasaṁgraha at Chāṇī).

UDAYAPRABHASŪRI, pupil of RAVIPRABHASŪRI,

Karmavipāka Ṭippaṇa.
Karmastava Ṭippaṇa.
Śataka Ṭippaṇa.

(All the three works in ms. no. 2173 in Pravartaka Kāntivijayajī Śāstrasaṁgraha, Baroda).

UDAYAPRABHASŪRI, pupil of VIJAYASENASŪRI,

Upadeśamālā-Karṇikā (no. 10351 of Śrī Hemacandrācārya Jaina Jñāna-Mandira, Pāṭaṇ, copied down in V. S. 1547).

Nemināthacaritra (no. 2052 of the same Jñāna-Mandira, copied down in V. S. 1518).

Śabdabrahmollāsa (palm-leaf ms. no. 34, Khetaravasī Bhāṇḍār, Pāṭaṇ).

EKANĀTHA BHAṬṬA,

Rāmaśataka Ṭīkā (no. 29 of 1872–73 in the Bombay Govt. collection of mss. deposited at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, copied down in V. S. 1717).

‡

NARACANDRASŪRI, pupil of DEVAPRABHASŪRI,

Anargharāghava Ṭippaṇa (nos. 11299 and 8634 of Śrī Hemacandrācārya Jaina Jñāna-Mandira, Pāṭaṇ, copied down in V. S. 1506 and 1556, respectively; also no. 6729 of the same Jñāna-Mandira).

Kathāratnākara or Kathāratnasāgara (Dābaḍā no. 51, ms. no. 26 of the Ḍehlā Upāśraya Bhāṇḍār, Ahmedabad; no. 569 of Jñānavimalasūri Bhāṇḍār, Cambay; no. 132 of the Jaina Bhāṇḍār, Chāṇasmā).

Nyāyakandalī Ṭippaṇa (no. 2709 of Muni Haṁsavijayajī Śāstrasaṁgraha, Baroda; no. 6811 of Śrī Hemacandrācārya Jñāna-Mandira, Pāṭaṇ).

Prākṛtaprabodha (no. 2162 of Pravartaka Kāntivijayajī Śāstrasaṁgraha, Baroda, copied down in V. S. 1487; Pothī no. 20, ms. no. 15 in the private collection of Muni Śrī Puṇyavijayajī, copied down in V. S. 1476; no. 2176 of Śrī Hemacandrācārya Jaina Jñāna-Mandira, Pāṭaṇ).

NARACANDRA UPĀDHYĀYA, pupil of SIṀHASŪRI,

Janmasamudra (Pothī no. 24, ms. no. 3 in the private collection of Muni Śrī Puṇyavijayajī, copied down in V. S. 1537).

Jyotiścaturviṁśikā (no. 5101 of Śrī Hemacandrācārya Jaina Jñāna-Mandira, Pāṭaṇ).

Praśnaśataka (no. 2164 of Pravartaka Kāntivijayaī Śāstrasaṁgraha, Baroda, copied down in V. S. 1532).

NARENDRAPRABHASŪRI,

Vivekakalikā (palm-leaf ms. no. 52 of the incomplete section, Saṁghavī Pāḍā Bhāṇḍār, Pāṭaṇ).

Vivekapādapa (palm-leaf ms. no. 52 of the incomplete section, Saṁghavī Pāḍā Bhāṇḍār, Pāṭaṇ).

BĀLACANDRA

Upadeśakandalī-Ṭīkā (no. 886 of Śrī Hemacandrācārya Jaina Jñāna-Mandira, Pāṭaṇ).

BHADRABĀHU,

Piṇḍaniryukti (a ms. in the Vijayadānasūri Jñāna-Bhāṇḍār at Chāṇī).

MĀṆIKYACANDRA

Parśvanāthacaritra Mahākāvya (Dabaḍā no. 31, palm-leaf ms. no. 1 in the Śāntinātha Bhāṇḍār at Cambay).

Śāntināthacaritra Mahākāvya (no. 865 of Śrī Hemacandrācārya Jñāna-Mandira, Pāṭaṇ).

ŚUBHAŚĪLA GAṆI,

Prabandhapañcaśatī or Pañcaśatīkathāsaṁgraha (no. 58 of Haṁsavijayajī Śāstrasaṁgraha, Baroda).

ŚRĪCANDRASŪRI,

Jītakalpacūrṇi-Vyākhyā (palm-leaf ms. no. 8 in the Tapā Gachha Bhāṇḍār, Pāṭaṇ, copied down in V. S. 1284).

SAMAYASUNDARA,

Vastupāla-Tejapāla Rāsa (no. 2426 of Muni Haṁsavijayajī Śāstrasaṁgraha, Baroda).

SĀGARACANDRA,

Jyotiḥsāra-Ṭīkā (no. 2145 of Pravartaka Kāntivijayajī Śāstrasaṁgraha, Baroda).

SOMEŚVARA,

Ullāgharāghava Nāṭaka (no. 343 of 1884-86 in the Bombay Govt. collection of manuscripts deposited at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, copied down in V. S. 1537).

Karṇāmṛtaprapā (no. 39 of 1871-72 in the Bombay Govt. collection of manuscripts deposited at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, copied down in V. S. 1509).

Rāmaśataka (no. 49 of 1873-74 in the Bombay Govt. collection of mss. deposited at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Poona, copied down in V. S. 1656).

HĪRĀNANDA,

Vastupāla Rāsa (a ms. in the private collection of Muni Śrī Puṇyavijayajī).

ANONYMOUS,

Rāmaśataka-Ṭīkā (Pothī no. 10, ms. no. 9. in the private collection of Muni Śrī Puṇyavijayajī, copied down in V. S. 1586).

ANONYMOUS,

A fragmentary anthology* (palm-leaf ms. no. 52 of the incomplete section in the Saṁghavī Pāḍā Bhāṇḍār, Pāṭaṇ).

---

* Vide para 92.

ABBREVIATIONS

AM	Alaṁkāramahodadhi of Narendraprabhasūri
ANNALS	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
BBH	Bālabhārata of Amaracandrasūri
BG	Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Pt. I (History of Gujarat)
BHV	Bhāratīya Vidyā (Hindi-Gujarati)
BP	Budhhiprakāśa (Guj.)
CC	Catalogus Catalogorum
CHA	Chandonuśāsana of Hemacandra
DHA	Dharmābhyudaya of Udayaprabhasūri
EI	Epigraphia Indica
FGST	Forbes Gujarātī Sabhā Traimāsika (Guj.)
GMRI	Gujarātano Madhyakālīn Rājput Itihās (Guj.) by D. K. Shastri
HIG	Historical Inscriptions of Gujarāt, edited by G. V. Acharya
HMM	Hammīramadamardana Nāṭaka of Jayasiṁhasūri
IA	Indian Antiquary
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly
JBC	A Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Jain Bhāṇḍārs at Jesalmere
JG	Jaina Granthāvali
JGRS	Journal of the Gujarat Research Society
JRK	Jinaratnakośa by Prof. H. D. Velankar
JPPS	Jaina Pustaka Praśasti Saṁgraha, edited by Jinavijayajī
JSI	Jaina Sāhityano Saṁkṣipta Itihās (Guj.) by M. D. Desai
JSP	Jaina Satya Prakāśa (Guj.)
KK	Kīrtikaumudī of Someśvara
KKL	Kāvyakalpalatā of Amaracandrasūri
KP	Kāvyaprakāśa of Mammaṭa
LBC	Catalogue of the Jaina Bhāṇḍār at Limbdi
NK	Nyāyakandalī of Śrīdhara
NKT	Nyāyakandalī Ṭippaṇa of Naracandrasūri
NN	Naranārāyaṇānanda of Vastupāla
NPP	Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā (Hindi)
PBC	A Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Jain Bhāṇḍārs at Pāṭaṇ, Vol. I
PC	Prabandhacintāmaṇi of Merutuṁga
PGGS	Prācīna Gujarātī Gadya Sandarbha, edited by Jinavijayajī
PGKS	Prācīna Gurjara Kāvya Saṁgraha, edited by C. D. Dalal
PJLS	Prācīna Jaina Lekha Saṁgraha, Pt. II, edited by Jinavijayajī
PK	Prabandhakośa of Rājaśekhara
PLM	Prācīna Lekhamālā
PP	Prākṛta Prabodha of Naracandrasūri
PPS	Purātana Prabandha Saṁgraha
PT	Purātattva (Guj.)
SKK	Sukṛtakīrtikallolinī of Udayaprabhasūri
SM	Sūktimuktāvalī of Jahlaṇa
SS	Sukṛtasaṁkīrtana of Arisiṁha
SU	Surathotsava of Someśvara

UKT	Upadeśakandalī Ṭīkā of Bālacandra
UR	Ullāgharāghava Nāṭaka of Someśvara
UT	Upadeśataraṁgiṇī of Ratnamandira Gaṇi
VC	Vastupālacarita of Jinaharṣa
VK	Vivekakalikā of Narendraprabhasūri
VMT	Vivekamañjarī Ṭīkā of Bālacandra
VP	Vivekapādapa of Narendraprabhasūri
VTK	Vividhatīrthakalpa of Jinaprabhasūri
VV	Vasantavilāsa of Bālacandra

PART I

INTRODUCTORY

CHAPTER I

CULTURAL AND LITERARY BACKGROUND

1. MAHĀMĀTYA VASTUPĀLA, who lived in the first half of the 13th century A. D. is a remarkable figure not only in the history of Gujarāt, but also in the history of mediaeval Sanskrit literature. He and his younger brother Tejapāla were ministers of king Vīradhavala of Dhavalakka (modern Dholkā in the Ahmedabad district), who was a feudatory of king Bhīmadeva II of Aṇahilavāḍa Pāṭaṇ. Vastupāla was a shrewd politician and a successful general, and came from a Jaina family belonging to the Prāgvāṭa (Porvāḍ) community, which is famous in the history of Gujarāt for its valour, statesmanship and business acumen. But it is noteworthy that Vastupāla was also a great patron of learning, a promoter of literature and a philanthrophist, a man of religious devotion and a great builder of monuments, such as the temples on Ābu and Girnār. Moreover, he was a Sanskrit poet of distinct merit, and is known to have composed a Mahākāvya and several Stotras. Consequently a large number of poets and scholars had gathered around him, who made a remarkable contribution to various branches of mediaeval Sanskrit literature. It is a rare thing in the history of India to find such a bright galaxy of scholars and poets gathered around a person who was not a king. In the long and varied history of Sanskrit literature, there is hardly a figure round whom had grown, as round Vastupāla, so much authentic material from contemporary pens surviving to this day. This work aims at giving an exhaustive treatment, as far as possible, of the life and works of Vastupāla, especially from cultural and literary points of view, and adducing historical evidence to establish the existence of a bright literary circle around him. It also aims at showing how he and his literary circle have enriched Sanskrit literature in a variety of ways.

2. To assess properly the work of Vastupāla and his literary circle, it is necessary to understand the cultural and literary background of his times, and it would be proper here to make a short survey of literary and scholarly traditions prevailing in the age that preceded his. It would show what Gujarāt has done to enrich the Sanskrit literature at least since the times of the Valabhī kings. From this point of view the history of Gujarāt has to show two very bright periods— one the period of the great savant Hemacandra (1088-1173 A. D.) and the other that of Vastupāla. The former has been dicussed at length by Bühler in his Life of Hemacandrācārya and by Professor R. C. Parikh in his introduction to the Kāvyānuśāsana of Hemacandra. The other period, that is the period of Vastupāla, is the subject of the present work.

3. The intellectual and cultural life of cities like Aṇahilavāḍ and Dhavalakka where men like Hemacandra and Vastupāla lived and worked

was, as we shall see presently, in the high tradition of Pāṭaliputra, Ujjayinī, Kānyakubja, Valabhī and Bhinnamāla.[1]

Glory of Valabhī

4. Leaving aside Dvārakā of mythological times, which Śrī Kṛṣṇa made his capital when he fled from Jarāsandha, we come to the historic city of Girinagara (modern Junāgaḍh). It has the inscription of Aśoka (274-237 B. C.) in Prākrit which was presumably understood in this part of the country, and the Sanskrit inscription of Rudradāman (150 A. D.) in prose, one of the earliest, if not the earliest, specimens of classical Sanskrit literaure, and the inscription of Skandagupta (456 A. D.) in verse-all on a rock at the foot of mt. Girnār in the vicinity of Junāgaḍh. These are the earliest remarkable literary records of Gujarāt, and they belong to the well-known historical ages of India—viz. of the Mauryas, the Kṣtrapas and the Guptas respectively. Next we come to the age of the Maitrakas of Valabhī which was contemporary with the latter part of the Gupta age. Valabhī (modern Vaḷā or Valabhīpur in Saurāṣṭra) was a great centre of Brahmanical, Budhhist as well as Jaina learning. The description of Valabhī given by the great Chinese traveller Yuan-chang who came there about 641 A. D. bears ample testimony to its splendour. According to him, there were some hundred Saṁghārāmas, where about 6000 priests lived and studied the little vehicle (the tenets of Hīnayāna) according to the Sammatiyā school. Moreover, he say that "not far from the city is a great Saṁghārāma which was built by the Arhat ('o-che-lo)[2]; here the Bodhisattvas Guṇamati and Sthiramati (Kien-hwui)[3] fixed thir residences during their travels and composed treatises which have gained a high renown"[4]. Asaṁga, Vasubandhu and Sthiramati are the three great names in the history of the Yogācāra sect of the Mahāyāna Budhhism, and on the authority of Yhan-Chang we may say that at least one of them, Sthiramati, who has commented upon Vasubandhu's Triṁśikā and also composed several Yogācāra works, lived near Valabhī, and that the study of Budhhist philosophy was a highly prized subject there.

5. That Valabhī was a great seat of learning is again proved by I-Tsing, a junior contemporary of Yuan-chang. According to him, "Nālandā in South Behar and Valabhī were two places in India which deserved comparison with the most famous centres of learning in China and were frequented by crowds of eager students who commonly devoted two or three years on attendance at lectures on Buddhist philosophy."[5]

---

1 R. C. Parikh, Kāvyānuśāsana, intro., p. 1.

2 This Saṁghārāma has been identified with the caves in the Talājā hills near Bhavnagar in Saurāṣṭra (PT, Vol. I, pp. 103-12).

3 According to a tradition, one Sthiramati was a pupil of Guṇamati, and lived before 425 A. D. (Vide Winternitz, A History of Indian Literature, Vol. II, p. 362 n.).

4 Beal, Budhhist Records of the Western World, BK XI, p. 208.

5 Smith, Early History of India, p. 314.

6. We have ample evidence to show that Brahmanical and Jaina learning flourished at Valabhī. In the 32nd Taraṁga of the Kathāsaritsāgara of Kāshmirian Somadeva (11th century A. D.), one Viṣṇudatta has been described as going to Valabhī from Antarvedī for learning Vidyā. Though the Kathāsaritsāgara was composed in the 11th century, the reference in question may be considered very old, because as it is well known, it is a version of the lost Bṛhatkathā of Guṇāḍhya, who lived in the beginning of the Christian era. Grants of the Valabhī kings attest to the royal patronage of the Vedic learning throughout the kingdom, and learned Brahmins of Ānandapura (modern Vaḍanagar) are conspicuous in the grants. The great Bhaṭṭikāvya or Rāvaṇavadha (between about 500 and 650 A. D.), which is the first Vyākaraṇa-Kāvya in the history of Sanskrit literature, a veritable literary feat, was composed at Valabhī. The Bhaṭṭikāvya must have become a model for the composition of the two Dvyāśraya Kāvyas–one Sanskrit and another Prākrit–of Hemacandra,[1] which form the most important sources for the study of history and culture of Gujarāt in the Caulukya or Solaṁkī period. Naturally, the Bhaṭṭikāvya must be considered a single literary remain, which is, however, suggestive of a vast literary activity. This inference would be considered right if we remember that some kings of Valabhī are described as very learned. One of them, Dhruvasena II (329 A. D.) is described in one of the grants as specially proficient in the science of Sālāturīya, that is the grammar of Pāṇini, and the science of polity (cf. राज्यसालातुरीयतंत्रयोरुभयोरपि निष्णात......).[2] In a grant of Dharasena II (478 A. D.) his father Guhasena is said to be well-versed in composing works in three languages, viz. Sanskrit, Prākrit and Apabhraṁs'a (संस्कृतप्राकृतापभ्रंशभाषात्रयप्रतिबद्धप्रबन्धरचनानिपुणतरान्तःकरणः ।).[3] It may also be noted in passing that though the Valabhī inscriptions are purely donatory, their formal references to the donating ruler and his ancestors are in a style which anticipates the elegant prose of the latter Sanskrit Gadyakāvyas.

7. Evidence is not lacking to show that Valabhī was also a great seat of Jaina religion and learning. Jaina religion, though originating in Magadha, had changed its centre of activity and in the early centuries of the Christian era Ujjayinī in Central India, Mathurā in the midland and Valabhī in western India had become very important places of Jainism. The first council for the redaction of the Jaina canon was convened at Pāṭaliputra during the second century after the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra, when the first eleven Aṁgas were compiled and the remnants of the fourteen Pūrvas were collected to form a twelfth Aṁga, the Dṛṣṭivāda. But in course of time the canon was put into disorder, and a second council was convened by Ārya Skandila at Mathurā and by Ārya Nāgārjuna at Valabhī almost simultaneously, in the ninth century after the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra (Kalyāṇavijaya, Vīra Nirvāṇa Saṁvat,

1 R. C. Parikh, op. cit., p. 56.

2 HIG, No. 63.

3 Ibid, no. 50. According to Bühler (IA, Vol. X, p. 278 ff.), this is a spurious grant, and it is latter than the date which is mentioned in it.

p. 104). These two Ācāryas, unfortunately, could not meet one another, and hence there were many textual variations in the versions of the canon compiled by both of them, one being known as the Māthurī Vācanā, and the other as the Valabhī Vācanā. After this, there came the great event of committing to writing the Jain canon according to the Māthurī Vācanā, taking down the variations of the Valabhī Vācanā wherever necessary. In the year 980 (or 993) after the death of Mahāvīra (i. e. in A. D. 454 or 467) again a council was held in Valabhī presided over by Devardhhigaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa, for the purpose of collecting the sacred texts and writing them down. The Jain canon as a whole was written down for the first time under the auspices of this council and it is possible that the copies of different texts of the canon were sent to different parts of the country for circulation of the authentic version. In fact, this is a great event in Jaina history, and it is quite significant that Valabhī was selected as the meeting-place for these important councils.[1]

8. Malla Vādin was a great Jaina scholar of Valabhī. He was the author of the Nayacakra or Dvādaśāranayacakra considered to be one of the greatest works of Jaina logic. According to the Prabhāvakacarita (1278 A.D.) of Prabhācandrasurī, Malla was the youngest of the three brothers-the names of the other two being Jitayaśas or Jinayaśas and Yakṣa. They had a maternal uncle, who had become a Śvetāmbara Jaina monk and was known as Jinānandasūrī. He was defeated by a Budhhist monk named Nanda or Budhhānanda in a public controversy at Bṛgukachha (modern Broach). So he left that city and came to Valabhī, where he made his nephews his disciples. All the three received sound training at Valabhī, and became masters of Śāstras. Jitayaśas wrote a Nyāsa on a work of grammar known as the Viśrāntavidyādhara;[2] Yakṣa composed a work on astrology called Nimittāṣṭāṁgabodhinī, while Malla wrote his famous treatise Nayacakra. Malla went to Bṛgukachha and defeated his uncle's opponent in a debate, and received the title of Vādin as a token of victory. The Prabhāvakacarita gives the year of this event as 884 after the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra (i. e. 358 A. D.). Unfortunately, the original Nayacakra is not extant to-day, and we have to reconstruct the text with the help of the commentary by Siṁha Kṣamāśramaṇa (circa 700 A. D.).

---

1 Traditions about these councils have beea preserved in the Nandi Cūrṇi (677 A. D.) of Jinadāsagaṇi Mahattara, Nandi Vṛtti of Haribhadra (701-771 A. D.), Vicāraśreṇi of Merutuṁga (14th cent. A. D.), Jyotiṣkaraṇḍaka Vṛtti of Malayagiri (12th cent. A. D.), Lokaprakāśa (1652 A. D.) of Vinayavijaya, Sāmācāriśataka (1616 A. D.) of Samayasundara, and several other works. Final redaction of the Canon made by Devardhhi notes the variations of the Valabhī Vācanā indicated there as वायणंतरे पुण, and the commentators of the texts have added many more under the head नागार्जुनीयास्तु पठन्ति (i. e. the followers of the Nāgārjuna school read this way).

2 This work has been referred to by Hemacandra in his grammar (PT, Vol. IV, p. 91). There its authorship has been ascribed to Vāmana (R. C. Parikh, op. cit, pp. 76-77).

9. It is said that Malla Vādin had written a Ṭippaṇa or gloss on Dharmottara's commentary on the Nyāyabindu of the Budhhist scholar Dharmakīrti.[1] There is a tradition that he wrote a commentary on the Sanmatitarka of Sidhhasena Divākara, which is another great work on Jaina logic. Ācārya Hemacandra has paid a glowing tribute to Malla in his Sidhha-Hema grammar, calling him the foremost among logicians.[2] In addition to the Prabhāvakacarita, the traditional account of this Jaina scholar is also found in the Prabandhacintāmaṇi (1305 A. D.) of Merutuṁga, the Prabandhakośa (1349 A. D.) of Rājaśekhara, and several other works.

Cultural and Literary life at S'rīmāla

10. Valabhī fell at the hands of the Arabs from Sind most probably in 789 A. D., as given by Jinaprabhasūri, the author of the Vividhatīrthakalpa.[3] This was the final attack of the Arabs by which the glory of Valabhī was extinguished. "After the overthrow of Valabhī its place as chief city of western India was taken by Aṇahilvāḍ, which retained that honour until the fifteenth century, when it was superseded by Ahmedabad."[4] But before we come to Aṇahilvāḍ, it is necessary to have a glance at the cultural life that was prevailing at Bhinnamāla or Śrīmāla, which was the first capital of the Gurjaras who gave the name Gujarāt to the province where they finally settled. Even after Bhinnamāla ceased to be the capital, it was the people who hailed from the place that mostly made the history of Gujarāt. Vastupāla himself belonged to the Prāgvāṭa community, which came from Śrīmāla.

11. On the authority of Yuan-chang, we may say that Bhinnamāla which lies fifty miles west of Mount Ābu was in the seventh century A. D. the capital of a Gurjara kingdom whose circuit was more than 830 miles.[5] The

---

1 Some scholars put Dharmottara in the 8th century A. D. (Vidyābhūṣaṇa, History of the Mediaeval School of Indian Logic, pp. 34–35). The grammarian Vāman to whom Hemacandra has ascribed the authorship of the Viśrāntavidyādhara probably lived in the sixth century, according to Macdonell (A History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 432) and others. If Malla Vādin who wrote the Ṭippaṇa on Dharmottara is not different from the author of the Nayacakra, there might be some inaccuracy in the traditional date given by the Prabhāvakacarita. For a discussion of the date of Malla Vādin, vide Vidyābhūṣana, A History of Indian Logic, pp. 194 f., where Malla Vādin is assigned to the 9th century A. D. by taking the traditional date in the Vikrama (or Śaka) era instead of the Vīra era. Jambuvijaya (Viśāla Bhārata, Vol. XLIII, p. 415), however, upholds the traditional date adducing various reasons in its favour.

2 अनुमल्लवादिनं तार्किकाः—Bṛhaṭṭīkā on the Sidhha-Hema (II. ii. 39).

3 H. G. Shastri, IHQ, Vol. 23, pp. 248 ff.

4 Smith, Early History of India, pp. 314–15.

5 Now-a-days Bhinnamāla is not included in the limits of Gujarāt proper. But it is well-known that at least upto the sixteenth century Gujarāt and Rājasthān were one from cultural and linguistic points

present ruins of that city, objects of interest in it and its surroundings, several old inscriptions which are found there and also the mythological and traditional account of the city given in the work known as the Śrīmālapurāṇa–are enough to prove that the site of the present Bhinnamāla was once a large and flourishing city.[1] The Prabhāvakacarita (ch. XIV–XV) gives fine descriptions of Śrīmāla, and as late as 1612 A. D. an English merchant Nicholas Ufflet has spoken of its fortifications, enclosing a circuit of thirtysix miles, containing many fine tanks going to ruins,[2] of which almost no trace remains now-a-days.

12. Just like Valabhīpur, the capital city of Śrīmāla was also a centre of Brahmanical and Jaina learning, and on the authority of Yuan-chang we may say that Budhhism also prevailed there. According to the Śrīmālapurāṇa, Śrīmala had one thousand Brahmaśālās and four thousand Maṭhas where different branches of learning were taught (Adhyāya 12, verse 22; and also Adhyāya 71); and the Purāṇa says that:—

चतुर्वेदाः साङ्गाश्च त्दुपनिषत्सहितास्तथा । सर्वशास्त्राणि वर्तन्ते श्रीमाले श्रींनिकेतने ॥
(Adhyāya 71, verse 9)

13. But the first authentic source of information about Bhinnamāla is an inscription of Varmalāta, who according to the Prabhāvakacarita was a king of Bhinnamāla. This inscription is dated V. S. 682 (=626 A. D.). This is probably the same Varmalāta who is referred to by Māgha in the Praśasti of his Śiśupālavadha. If this identity is accepted, we can place Māgha, who according to tradition, was a poet of Śrīmāla, 50 years after this, or considering his reference to Jinendrabudhhi's Nyāsa on the Kāśikā, about 700 A. D.;[3] for Suprabhadeva, the grandfather of Māgha was prime minister of Varmalāta, the name of the poet's father being Dattaka who was addressed as Sarvāśraya by the people for his friendliness towards all. It may be that Māgha ended every canto of his poem with the word Śrī for which he is called Śryaṁka with a view to commemorate his city Srīmāla.[4]

14. Another great name from Śrīmāla is that of the astronomer Brahmagupta who completed his work Brāhmasphuṭasidhhānta in Śaka Saṁvat

of view, and hence the name 'Old Western Rajasthānī' given by scholars like Tessitori to a language which is properly speaking Old Gujarātī. During the Caulukya-times, politically as well as culturally Gujarāt included north Gujarāt as well as Rājasthān, and Lāṭa or South Gujarāt was added later on only after its final conquest by Sidhharāja Jayasiṁha. It is possible that Gujarāt and Rājasthān developed in their own individual ways after a Sultanate, independent of Delhi, was established at Ahmedabad in the fifteenth century.

1 For detailed account of the ruins of Bhinnamāla, vide Jackson's paper in the appendix of the BG, Voi. I, pt. I.

2 Ibid, Vol. I. pt. I, p. 449.

3 Keith, Sanskrit Literature, p. 124.

4 R. C. Parikh, op. cit, pp. 95–96.

550, that is, 628 A. D., when Vyāghramukha of the cāpa dynasty was ruling there. On account of the city of his residence Brahmagupta is famous in Indian literature as the Bhillamālakācārya.

15. Jaina learning also greatly flourished as Śrīmāla. The famous Upamitibhavaprapañcakathā of Sidhharṣi was completed there, according to the author's own statement, in V. S. 962 (=906 A. D.). The Jaina literary form known as Dharmakathā or religious novel, reaches its culmination in this allegorical kathā-work. In the Praśasti of the work, Sidhharṣi mentions in his genealogy of teachers the names of Sūryācārya of the Nirvṛtti Kula, Dellamahattara and Durgasvāmin, a wealthy Brahmin who had become a Jaina monk, and who died at Bhinnamāla.[1] He then speaks with enthusiasm and great respect of the Ācārya Haribhadra to whom he is indebted for enlightenment in the true religion and of whom he has spoken in Book I of his work as the "awakener of true knowledge of the religion" (Dharmabodhakara). These words would lead one to believe that Haribhadra must have been the immediate teacher of the poet. Nevertheless that is impossible if we consider the date of Haribhadrasūri (701–771 A. D.) established on most unimpeachable authority by Ācārya Jinavijayaji.[2] And we may safely assume, as Jinavijayaji has done, that Sidhharṣi pays Haribhadra such a glowing tribute only because he has derived the greatest inspiration from his writings. Sidhharṣi says that he chose the form of allegory in order to attract the readers, and for the same reason he wrote in Sanskrit, and not in Prākrit, because Prākrit is for the uneducated, whilst even the educated are to be won over to the true doctrine from their heretical views. Upamitibhavaprapañcakathā is the first long Sanskrit work composed by a Jaina author, and that shows how by that time the Jainas found it necessary to write in Sanskrit instead of Prākrit in order to appeal to the whole world of Indian scholarship. The great popularity that Sidhharṣi's work enjoyed among the Jainas is shown by the fact that only 100 years after its appearance, extracts and abridgments were made from it, and even Hemacandra uses names in one of the stories in the Pariśiṣṭaparvan, which presupposes that it was universally known.[3] Sidhharṣi also made a Sanskrit version of Prākrit Candraprabhacaritra, wrote commentaries on the Prākrit Upadeśamālā of Dharmadāsa Gaṇi and on the Nyāyāvatāra of Sidhhasena Divākara.

16. As seen above Śrīmāla was one of the centres of activity of Haribhadrasūri, the author of many important works on Jaina philosophy, and a general work on the schools of Indian philosophy known as the Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya, a long Prākrit Dharmakathā named Samarāiccakahā, a satirical kathā-work like the Dhūrtākhyāna, a number of religious Prakaraṇas

---

1 In the Jaina temple of the same city Sidhharṣi first recited his work and the nun Gaṇā, a pupil of Durgasvāmin, first wrote it down.

2 Vide his Sanskrit paper on the date of Haribhadra in the Proceedings of the First All India Oriental Conference, Poona, Vol. I, pp. 124–34.

3 Winternitz, A History of Indian Literature, Vol. II, p. 532.

and Sanskrit commentaries on several Jaina canonical works. He is perhaps the first among those Jaina authors who commented in Sanskrit on the original Prākrit Sūtras. While utilizing the old Prākrit commentaries he retained the narratives in their original Prākrit form.

17. Another ancient Prākrit Dharmakathā—the Kuvalayamālā of Udyotanasūri was composed at Jābālipura (modern Jhalor in Mārvāḍ), a town not very far away from Bhinnamāla, in Śaka era 700, that is 778 A. D. On the author's own statement in the Praśasti, Tattvācārya had given him initiation in the religious order. In addition to this, the author has mentioned two of his Vidyāgurus: One of them was Vīrabhadra who had got constructed a temple of the first Tīrthaṁkara Ādinātha in Jābālipura. He had taught the author Jain religious tenets. The other was Haribhadra, composer of many Śāstras, who had taught him logic. Thus Haribhadra was a senior contemporary of Udyotanasūri. In the genealogy of his teachers the author has referred to an Ācārya named Devagupta who was a Mahākavi, and his pupil Śivacandra, who had selected Śrimāla as the place of his residence (Verses 5–7.).[1]

18. These few instances will suffice to give an idea of the active literary life of Śrimāla, which was the immediate inspiring model of Aṇahilvāḍ Pāṭaṇ. In this period, upto 953 A. D. Śrīmāla seems to have remained as the most important city in Gurjara Des'a.[2] Immediately after that, during the reign of one Bhīmasena, a migration of 18000 Gurjars from Śrīmāla is recorded. According to the Śrīmāla Purāṇa, Śrī left that city in V. S. 1203 (1147 A.D.).[3] If this statement is to be believed, there must have been a great exodus of population from Śrīmāla to Northern Gujarāt and to Aṇahilvāḍa in particular. Most of the Brāhmins and Baniās, and a large number of artisan classes of Gujarāt trace their place of origin in Mārvāḍ, and some of them in Śrīmāla proper and its suburbs. S'rīmāli Brāhmins and Baniās, Prāgvāṭa (Porvāḍ = staying in the eastern part of S'rīmāla) Baniās and S'rīmālī Sonis (gold-smiths) are, as is evident from their caste-names, from S'rīmāla proper. Aṇahilavāḍ had profited at the expense of S'rīmāla, by the migration of this great refugee population, and we find later on how the S'rīmālīs and Prāgvāṭas had made their contribution to the political, cultural and religious life of Gujarāt. We see some of them as great administrators and generals, proficient composers of literary works, builders of monuments and religious leaders of their times.

Literary and Scholarly traditions of Aṇahilavāḍ Pāṭaṇ

19. Aṇahilavāḍ Pāṭaṇ was already founded several centuries before the decline of Bhinnamāla, in V. S. 802,[4] i. e. in 746 A. D., by Vanarāja, a chief of the Cāvaḍā clan, on the site of an old village Lākhārām on the bank of the

1 Jinavijayaji's Paper on the Kuvalayamālā in the Vasant Rajat Mahotsava Smārak Granth (Gujarati), pp. 270–71.

2 R. C. Parikh, op. cit., p. 107.

3 Ibid, p. 102.

4 For discussion of the date vide R. C. Modi's paper in the Kāntamālā (Guj.).

river Sarasvatī in North Gujarāt.[1] Looking to the fact that we have no contemporary records, no inscriptions and no coins of the Cāvaḍās, and that they are referred to as robbers in works like the Prabandhacintāmaṇi,[2] we are justified in assuming that their sway extended to only a limited region surrounding their capital town. Their rule came to an end in 942 A. D., when Mūlarāja, nephew of the last Cāvaḍā ruler Sāmantasiṁha, usurped the throne after murdering his maternal uncle, who was addicted to drink and had given away his kingdom to Mūlarāja in a spell of intoxication. Even during these times, when Aṇahilvāḍ was a small principality, we find at least one instance which characteristically shows how the literary life of Bhinnamāla had continued at places around Aṇahilvāḍ. We have already mentioned that one Tattvācārya was preceptor of Udyotanasūri, the author of the Kuvalayamālā (see supra Para 17). It is possible to identify him with Śīlācārya or Śīlāṁkācārya who wrote learned commentaries on the first two Aṁgas of the Jaina canon—viz. the Ācārāṁga and the Sūtrakṛtāṁga, in Gambhutā (modern Gāmbhu), only a few miles from Pāṭaṇ. This identification is based on the fact that the said commentator Śīlāṁka was also known as Tattvāditya, which is just an equivalent of Tattvācārya. Moreover, in the 12th verse of the Praśasti of the Kuvalayamālā, while mentioning Tattvācārya, the author has, through a pun, referred to Śīlāṁka.[3] There is also a tradition that Śīlāṁkācārya was identical with Śīlaguṇasūri, the Guru of Vanarāja, the founder of Aṇahilvāḍ Pāṭaṇ.[4] The Jaina tradition says that Vanarāja and his mother were protected by Śīlaguṇasūri, when Vanarāja's father was killed and his kingdom was usurped by the enemies.

20. Mūlarāja, the first ruler of the illustrious Caulukya dynasty that reigned at Aṇahilvāḍ, was a great general and a far-sighted statesman; and developed the Gujarāt kingdom from the small principality that he got from the Cāvaḍās. He overcame Bārappa, the viceroy of the Deccan Caulukyas in Lāṭa; destroyed the formidable Graharipu of Saurāṣṭra; and subdued Lākhā Phulāṇī of Kachha. He built the famous Rudramahālaya at Sidhhapura, which was one of the greatest architectural monuments of the Caulukya period; and invited the learned Brahmins of Uttarāpatha to come and settle in

---

1 26th Kalpa of the VTK of Jinaprabha. Also R. C. Parikh, op. cit., pp. 203-4.

2 PC, p. 14.

3 तस्स वि सीसो तत्ताअरिओ त्ति णाम पयडगुणो । आसि तवतेयणिज्जियपविगयमोह्णो [दिणयर व्व] ॥११॥
[जो दूसमसलिलपवाहवेगहीरन्तगुणसहस्साण] सीलंगविउलसालो लक्खणरुक्खो व निक्कंपो ॥ १२ ॥
–Vasant Rajat Mahotsava Smārak Granth (Guj.), p. 269.
It must be noted here that though the said identification is quite probable, it cannot be considered final until the problem of the date of the composition of the commentary of the Ācārāṁga, which is tentatively believed by some as 877 A. D. (JSI, p. 181), is finally settled. see Jinavijayaji, Jītakalpasūtra, introduction.

4 Muniratna in his poem Amamacaritra says about Śīlāṁka–
गुरुर्गुर्जरराजस्य चातुर्विद्यैकसृष्टिकृत् । त्रिषष्टिनरसद्वृत्तकविर्वाचां न गोचरः ॥

Gujarāt.[1] It was in times of Mularāja that the name 'Gujarāt' began to be used for the province.[2] Cultural and literary expansion came in the wake of political expansion and reached its height in the times of Sidhharāja Jayasiṁha and Kumārapāla in the twelfth century. Though peace of Gujarāt was seriously disturbed for some time by the terrible onslaught of Mahmud of Gaznā (1024 A. D.) during the rule of Bhīmadeva I (1022–1064 A. D.), the general literary culture was a matter of continuous growth. After the foundation of the Gurjara empire at Aṇahilvāḍ pāṭaṇ we find an intensive literary activity mostly of the Jaina scholars and poets especially in the region of Northern Gujarāt. Out of them, Śāntisūri (11th century) and Nemicandra (1073 A. D.), the authors of two separate commentaries on the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra, which are very useful to the scholar and the student respectively; Abhayadevasūri (1064 A. D.), who wrote learned commentaries on the nine Aṁgas of the Jain Canon and hence was known as the Navāṁgī-vṛttikāra, and Droṇācārya, who revised these commentaries; and two brothers—Jineśvara and Budhhisāgara (first half of the 11th century) who wrote on various religious and secular subjects —deserve special mention.[3]

21. From all available evidence we gather that the poets and dialecticians of the different sects from many parts of India visited the capital of Gurjaradeśa. And even in the case of the learned men of the Jaina sect, their erudition is more shown by their proficiency in logic and the art of dialectics, mastery of all the schools of philosophy, their thorough grounding in grammar and the science of language, and their cleverness in poetic composition.[4] Tarka, Lakṣaṇa and Sāhitya or logic, grammar and poetics are some of the main subjects that formed the common field of intellectual activity in India, and these three are specially mentioned as the Vidyātrayī by the Jaina writers from Gujarat.[5]

22. There was a keen cultural rivalry between Aṇahilavāḍ and Dhārā, or so to say, between Gujarāt and Mālvā. The scholars of one region were going to the other to fight the intellectual battle on behalf of their country.[6] On account of this rivalry the general cultural life of Mālvā and Gujarāt together was a matter of continuous growth, though the rulers were fighting continuously and causing some political disturbances. When Gujarāt and Mālvā did not form one political unit, they often waged bitter wars against each other, and as a result, were joined together when Sidhharāja Jayasiṁha finally conquered Mālvā in 1136–37 A. D.[7]

---

1 Descendents of those Brāhmins are now-a-days known as the Udīcya or Audīcya Brāhmins.

2 B. J. Sāndesarā, Itihāsanī Keḍī (Guj.), pp. 131 ff.

3 These are only a few out of a large number of works composed in Aṇahilvāḍ and adjoining regions. The curious reader is referred to a book like the Jain Sāhityano Itihāsa (Guj.) by M. D. Desai, for details.

4 R. C. Parikh, op. cit., pp. 139–40.

5 B. J. Sāndesarā, op. cit., p. 36.

6 R. C. Parikh, op. cit., pp. 140 ff.

7 D. K. Shastri, GMRI (Guj.), Vol. I. p. 245.

23. Sidhharāja Jayasiṁha (1094–1143 A. D.) is the most remembered of all the kings of Gujarāt. He still lives in the folk-literature and folk-dramas. Like Vikrama and Bhoja, he has almost become a legendary figure. In fact, it appears to have been the ambition of Jayasiṁha to emulate Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī in all fields of life.[1] His court had become a favourite place for scholars coming from different parts of India. Important debates like that between Digambara Kumudacandra and Śvetāmbara Vādī Devasūri were held in his court, and he used to preside on such occasions, which shows that he was sufficiently conversant with different branches of learning prevalent in his times.[2] He found in Hemacandra a great literary figure who could compose works which would stand side by side the literary glories of Mālvā.

24. The celebrated Hemacandra was a pupil of Devacandra. He was one of the most versatile and prolific writers, who worked in the most varied domains, both as a poet and a scholar. It was due to him that Gujarāt became a main stronghold of the Śvetāmbara Jainas and has remained so for centuries, and that Jaina literature flourished so exceedingly there in the 12th and the 13th centuries. He was not, however, only the author of Jinistic works, but in addition, he provided Gujarāt with important text-books on secular branches of learning (grammar, lexicography, poetics and metrics), so that he was called "The Omniscient of the Kali age" (Kalikālasarvajña). He was born at Dhandhukā, a town in the neighbourhood of Ahmedabad in 1089 A. D. as the son of a merchant. His parents were pious Jainas, and in his early childhood he was already destined for the life of a monk. As a Jaina teacher he spent the greater part of his life in the capital of Gujarāt. When Sidhharāja returned triumphant from a war with Mālvā, learned men of Aṇahilavāḍ had waited upon him to offer their congratulations. Sidhharāja, jealous of the literary glory of Ujjayinī, asked Hemacandra to write a Grammar, and procured for the scholar all the grammars available then from different parts of the country. Hemacandra compiled his famous text-book of grammar, and associating his name with that of the monarch, called it Sidhha-Hemacandra. Sidhharāja got copies of it made, and sent them to various kingdoms of India. Twenty copies were sent to Kāshmīr, the then home of learning. Hemacandra also composed two Dvyāśraya Mahākāvyas-one Sanskrit and another Prākrit-in which, while illustrating the rules of Sanskrit and Prākrit Grammar, he celebrated the glories of his two patrons, Sidhharāja and his successor Kumārapāla (1143–1174 A. D.) along with an authentic poetical history of their dynasty. There is scarcely any branch of literature in which Hemacandra has not given his special contribution. One of his junior contemporaries, Somaprabhācārya, has succinctly described his literary achievements in the following śloka—

क्लृप्तं व्याकरणं नवं विरचितं छन्दो नवं द्व्याश्रयालंकारौ प्रथितौ नवौ प्रकटितं श्रीयोगशास्त्रं नवम् ।
तर्कः सञ्जनितो नवो जिनवरादीनां चरित्रं नवं बद्धं येन न केन केन विधिना मोहः कृतो दूरतः ॥

---

1 R. C. Parikh, op. cit., p. 162.

2 We find a fine delineation of the debate between Kumudacandra and Devasūri, and also of Jayasiṁha and his court in a historical play by Yaśaścandra, viz. the Mudritakumudacandra Prakaraṇa.

"He composed a new Grammar-the Sidhha-Hemacandra, a new science of metrics-the Chandonuśāsana, two Dvyāśraya-Kāvyas and the Kavyānuśāsana, a new Yogaśāstra, a new logic-the Pramāṇamīmāṁsā, and a new biography of the Jinas etc—the Triṣaṣṭi-śalākāpuruṣacaritra and the Pariśiṣṭaparvan. In what way has he not removed our ignorance?"

In addition to these works Hemacandra wrote Anekārthasaṁgraha, a dictionary of homonyms; Abhidhānacintāmaṇi, a dictionary of synonyms; Deśīnāmamālā, a lexicon of non-Sanskritic Prākrit words; Nighaṇṭuśeṣa in three volumes, two of them dealing with medicine and botany, and the third with jewels; and also a number of philosophical stotras.[1] Not only Gujarāt and the Jaina community owe a great debt of gratitude to Hemacandra but he has a place of honour in general Sanskrit Literature.[2]

25. Jayasiṁha's successor Kumārapāla (1143-1174 A. D.), originally a devotee of Śiva, was greatly influenced by Jinistic teachings of Hemacandra, and considered him as his Guru. As a result of Hemacandra's teaching Kumārapāla renounced hunting, and prohibited in his entire realm the slaughter of animals, the eating of meat and the drinking of intoxicants, dice-playing, animal-fighting and betting. He erected Jaina temples, and favoured the literary efforts of the Jainas. In his honour Hemacandra has called his second Dvyāśraya Kāvya, which illustrates the rules of the Prākrit part of his Grammar, Kumārapālacarita, and has described therein the life of Kumārapāla as a pious Jaina. During the reign of these two kings, Jayasiṁha and Kumārapāla, not only Hemacandra and his disciples, but a large number of poets and scholars, both Jaina and non-Jaina, wrote their works; and Gujarāt enjoyed a period of intense literary activity.

26. Hemacandra's educational work seems to have been no less fruitful than his literary activities. A number of his pupils have left works on various branches of Sanskrit literature.[3] Chief among those pupils was Rāmacandra, a great lover of personal freedom,[4] notable dramatist, and author of a rare work on dramaturgy, viz. the Nāṭyadarpaṇa. Another pupil of Hemacandra, Guṇacandra, had collaborated with Rāmacandra in writing the Nāṭyadarpaṇa. The work contains quotations from Viśākhadatta's lost drama Devīcandragupta, which have proved of great value in reconstructing a forgotten chapter in the Gupta history. It also contains references to a number of Sanskrit plays, extant and non-extant, some of them by the author himself. Dhanañjaya's work, Daśarūpaka (10th century A. D.), must have been known to Rāmacandra, yet his Nāṭyadarpaṇa seems to have been compsed on original lines. He seems to embody in this work some traditions about the types of drama and the nature and classifications of Rasas, which are different from Bharata. Out of about two dozen Sanskrit plays written in Gujarāt, not less than eleven are

1 For life and works of Hemacandra vide Bühler, the Life of Hemacandrācārya; R. C. Parikh, op. cit., pt. I, and M. C. Modi, Hema-Samīkṣā (Guj.).

2 Winternitz, foreword to Bühler, op. cit.

3 B. J. Sāndesarā, op. cit., pp. 25 ff. (paper on 'Hemacandrācārya's disciples').

4 Ibid, pp. 35 ff.

from the pen of Rāmacandra. Rāmacandra has written at least four varieties of Sanskrit drama-viz. Nāṭaka, Prakaraṇa, Nāṭikā, and Vyāyoga.

27. Among other pupils of Hemacandra we have the names of Mahendrasūri, who wrote a commentary on the Anekārthakośa of Hemacandra; Devacandra, the author of a historical play Candralekhāvijayaprakaraṇa, which describes Kumārapāla's conquest of Arṇorāja, the king of Sapādalakṣa or Śākambharī (modern Sāmbhar in Rājputānā), and his marriage with Arṇorāja's sister; Vardhamāna Gaṇi, who had written an erudite commentary on the Kumāravihārapraśasti Kāvya of Rāmacandra, describing a temple Kumāravihāra built by Kumārapāla; Udayacandra, who had corrected some grammatical mistakes in the Yogaśātra of Hemacandra; Yaśaścandra, who has been referred to in the Prabhāvakacarita[1] and the Kumārapālaprabandha;[2] and lastly Bālacandra, who was partly responsible for the cruel death of Rāmacandra at the hand of king Ajayapāla, successor of Kumārapāla and a hater of the Jainas.[3] Tradition credits Hemacandra with a large number of pupils,[4] and it is possible that he had many more than those mentioned above.

28. Among notable contemporaries of Hemacandra we may mention the blind poet-laureate of Sidhharāja, viz. Śrīpāla who came from a Prāgvāṭa family. He had written a Praśasti of the famous Sahasraliṁga lake constructed by Sidhharāja, only a fragment of which has been preserved on a slab found in a temple at Pāṭaṇ.[5] It is also said that he had written the Praśasti of the Rudramahālaya,[6] which was repaired by Sidhharāja. At the end of his famous Praśasti of the fort of Vaḍnagar composed in 1150 A. D. during the reign of Kumārapāla, S'rīpāla says about himself—

एकाहनिष्पन्नमहाप्रबन्धः श्रीसिद्धराजप्रतिपन्नबन्धुः ।
श्रीपालनामा कविचक्रवर्ती प्रशस्तिमेतामकरोत्प्रशस्ताम् ॥[7]

The Mahāprabandha which is referred to here must be none other than the Vairocanavijaya mentioned in the Prabhāvakacarita.[8] S'rīpāla was a friend of Sidhharāja and chief among the poets at his court. About his rivalry and contact with Devabodha of the Bhāgavata sect who had come to Aṇahilavāḍ, as also with other scholars, we get a wealth of information from the Prabandhas.[9] We also find that some of the contemporary poets were coming to Śrīpāla for getting their works revised.[10]

1 Ch. 22, v. 739.

2 p. 188.

3 PK, p. 98; PPS, p. 49; PC, p. 97.

4 Bühler, op. cit., p. 60.

5 R. C. Modi, Proceedings and Transactions of the 7th All India Oriental Conference, Baroda, pp. 649 ff.

6 JSI, pp. 235 f.

7 Prācīna Lekhamālā, Pt. I, no. 45.

8 BP, Vol. 77, p. 35.

9 R. C. Parikh, op. cit., pp. 255 ff.

10 SI, pp. 235 ff.

29. It is an interesting fact that Śrīpāla's son Sidhhapāla also was a good poet, and Somaprabhācārya had composed his Prākrit work, Kumārapālapratibodha, which has for its subject the sermons of the teacher Hemacandra to his royal disciple, while staying in the Upāśraya of Sidhhapāla, in 1185 A. D. Sidhhapāla's son Vijayapāla also was a dramatist, and we get one of his works, Draupadīsvayaṁvara, which was performed at Aṇahilvāḍ at the order of Bhīmadeva II in the Tripuruṣaprāsāda built by Mūlarāja.[1] It is not a frequent occurrence in history of literature when favour of the Muse has been continuously showered in this way on three successive generations.

30. Among other authors of this period worthy of mention is Vāgbhaṭa, the author of Vāgbhaṭālaṁkāra, a work on poetics. This author is often confused with the minister Vāgbhaṭa, son of minister Udayana, and also with another Vāgbhaṭa, son of Nemikumāra, who wrote a work on poetics called the Kāvyānuśāsana and who flourished later. But these three are really different persons. Our author was the son of Soma. He was a follower of Jaina religion, as is evident from the benedictory verses of his work. As prof. R. C. Parikh has rightly inferred, this work must have been finished between Jayasiṁha's conquest of Mālvā (1136 A. D.), and his death (1143 A. D.), because it refers to the said victory and has no verse in praise of Kumārapāla.[2]

31. Two other notable Sanskrit plays of the time are the Pārthaparākramavyāyoga of Prahlādanadeva (About 1170 A. D.) and Moharājaparājaya of Yaśaḥpāla (between 1174 and 1177 A. D.). Prahlādanadeva, the author of the former play was a brother of Dhārāvarṣa, the lord of Candrāvatī, and a feudatory of Kumārapāla. It was acted on the occasion of the festival of the investment of Acaleśvara, the tutelary deity of Mount Ābu, with the sacred thread, as is mentioned in the Prastāvanā, and claims to exhibit the sentiment of excitement (Dīptarasa). The story, taken from the Virāṭa Parvan of the Mahābhārata, is a well-known episode of the recovery by Arjuna of the cows of Virāṭa, raided by the Kauravas, and the defeat of the raiders. The poet, whose fame as a warrior and whose princely generosity are extolled by Vastupāla's friend Someśvara in his poem Kīrtikaumudī, claims for his poetry the merits of smooth composition and clearness. Technically the play is of some interest, because immediately after the Nāndī the Sthāpaka enters, recites a couple of stanzas, and then an actor comes on the stage who addresses him, but is answered by the Sūtradhāra; apparently the two terms are considered synonymous by the author of the play or the later tradition. Moreover, the final benediction is allotted not to Arjuna, the hero of the play, but to Vāsava, who appears at the close of the play in a celestial chariot in company with the Apsarasas to bestow his blessing.[3] Prahlādana wrote other works, of which some verses are preserved in anthologies; he must have been a man of considerable ability and merit. He is the only author in Gujarāt, who after Rāmacandra has attempted the form of Vyāyoga. It is also interesting

1 B. J. Sāndesarā, op. cit., p. 60.
2 R. C. Parikh, op. cit., p. 262.
3 Keith, Sanskrit Drama, p. 265.

to note that he was the founder of the city of Prahlādanapur or Pālanpur in north Gujarāt.

32. Moharājaparājaya was composed by Yaśaḥpāla, the Jaina minister of Kumārapāla's successor Ajayapāla. Apparently the play was written during the reign of Ajayapāla (1174–77 A. D.), and was performed on the occasion of the Yātrāmahotsava of the idol of Mahāvīra at the Kumāravihāra, a temple erected by Kumārapāla, at Thārāpadra (modern Tharād in the Banāskānṭhā district), where the author seems to have been governor or only a resident. The play is an example of a Jaina allegory of comparatively early date. It describes the conversion of Kumārapāla to Jainism, his prohibition of the killing of animals, and his cessation from the practice of confiscating the property of persons dying without heirs (Rudatīvitta) in his realm, as a result of the efforts of the famous sage, Hemacandra. The title of the play means "conquest on king Moha or ignorance", and all the personages in it, save the king, Hemacandra and the Vidūṣaka, are the personifications of qualities, good and evil.[1] The play is certainly not without merits. In the main it is written in simple Sanskrit, and is free from the artifices which disfigure more pretentious plays, and it has the merit of bringing vividly before us the activities of Jainism in the regulation of Kumārapāla's kingdom, throwing an interesting light on what is known from inscriptions and other sources of the history of Gujarāt. Interesting details are given of the different forms of gambling and of the sects which approve slaughter. The Prākrits are, of course, deeply influenced by Hemacandra's grammar.[2] We may profitably compare this allegorical play with an earlier piece, viz. the Prabodhacandrodaya of Kṛṣṇamiśra (11th century) which may have influenced it to a certain extent.

33. A great Sanskrit commentator of the Jaina canonical works was Ācārya Malayagiri. In addition to writing commentaries on several Jaina Āgamas he has commented upon a number of non-canonical works, and has written a Sanskrit grammar called the Muṣṭivyākaraṇa ('concise grammar'). Malayagiri has not given any personal information in his works nor has he mentioned the date of composition in any of them. But he has referred to "the reign of Kumārapāla" in some of them, and has given an illustration—अरुणत् कुमारपालोऽरातीन् in his grammar.[3] Hence it is evident that Malayagiri must have lived in or about the reign of Kumārapāla. In his commentaries we find both great scholarship and lucidity side by side and so they are very important for the student. We have four great names among the Sanskrit commentators of the Āgama–viz. Haribhadra, Śīlāṅka, Abhayadeva, and Malayagiri. Malayagiri is last but not the least of them. It is noteworthy in the history of Jaina literature that though the original canon was composed in Magadha, the final redaction of it and all the commentaries on it have been written in the Gurjaradeśa.

1 Ibid, pp. 253 f.
2 Ibid, pp. 255 f.
3 JSI, pp. 273 f. As the verb is in aorist, it may be assumed that the sentence refers to very recent happenings.

34. Leaving the reign of Kumārapāla and his successors and coming further to the end of the 12th century A. D., we get a work which is valuable for the study of the whole of the Indian Kathā-literature. That work is the Pañcākhyāna of the Jaina monk Pūrṇabhadra. It was composed in 1199 A. D., when probably Vastupāla and his brother Tejapāla were in their teens. Pañcākhyāna is a version of the Western Indian Pañcantantra, the Textus Simplicior, which is the most famous recension of the original, showing clear influence of the Tantrākhyāyikā, that is, the Kāshmīrian recension of the Pañcatantra, and containing additions of a few stories from some unknown source, probably from folk-lore. But the real merit of the work lies in the fact that the author has edited the whole Textus Simplicior carefully, because by his time its text had become very corrupt. He had undertaken this editing at the instance of one Soma Mantrin,[1] who has not been properly identified as yet. As stated in the colophon of the work, he had revised the original text word by word,[2] and prepared "a new version, the like of which does not exist anywhere".[3] We must admit that this is not an editing of the Pañcatantra in the modern sense according to the science of textual criticism, but it is clear that Pūrṇabhadra must have collected a number of manuscripts belonging to different schools and corrected the readings of the Textus Simplicior, which was enjoying great popularity in India, and hence had become full of textual corruptions. The success of Pūrṇabhadra is attested by the fact that at a number of places in the Western Indian Pañcatantra we can arrive at a correct reading and logical interpretation only by accepting the reading supplied by him.[4]

35. This is but a short account of only some of the prominent literary figures and literary works of the Gurjaradeśa. Hundreds of works in Sanskrit, Prākrit and Apabhraṁśa and also in a post-Apabhraṁśa dialect which must have been current in those days in the province were composed at Aṇahilvāḍ and various parts of the Caulukya kingdom of Gujarāt, from the days of Mūlarāja upto Karṇa Vāghelā, the last Hindu king who ruled at Aṇahilvāḍ (1296–1304) and even after that right upto the 18th century. They cover all the branches of literature, both religious and secular, and because a greater part of all this literary treasure has remained unpublished, in Bhāṇḍārs accessible only to a few scholars, it has not been better known to the students at large, and one has to be satisfied by merely having a glance at the descriptive catalogues prepared by research-workers over a whole generation.

---

1 श्रीसोममन्त्रिवचनेन विशीर्णवर्णमालोक्य शास्त्रमखिलं खलु पञ्चतन्त्रम् ।
श्रीपूर्णभद्रगुरुणा गुरुणादरेण संशोधितं नृपतिनीतिविवेचनाय ॥

2 प्रत्यक्षरं प्रतिपदं प्रतिवाक्यं प्रतिकथं प्रतिश्लोकम् ।
श्रीपूर्णभद्रसूरिर्विशोधयामास शास्त्रमिदम् ॥

3 प्रत्यन्तरं न पुनरस्त्यमुना क्रमेण कुत्रापि किञ्चन जगत्यपि निश्चयो मे ।
किंत्वाद्यसत्कविपदाक्षतबीजमुष्टिः सिक्ता मया मतिजलेन जगाम वृद्धिम् ॥

4 For illustrations vide B. J. Sāndesarā, Pañcatantra (Guj.), pp. 11–12n., 242–43n., 327n., 330n., 331–32 n., 333n., etc.

36. Aṇahilvaḍ Pāṭaṇ was the nerve-centre of the vast Gurjar dominion which at its zenith in the reign of Kumārapāla extended from Konkaṇ in the south to the whole of Rājputānā in the north, and from Cutch and Saurāṣṭra in the west and the border-land of Sind in the north-west to the whole of Mālvā in the east. Seeds of disruption of the Gujarāt power were already sown in the last days of Kumārapāla's life[1] Though the decline is clearly visible during the reign of Bhīmadeva II (1179-1242 A. D.) who was the third ruler from Kumārapāla—the intermediate two rulers enjoying power for a very short time—the glory of Gujarāt shone bright again in the time of Vīradhavala Vāghelā and his great ministers Vastupāla and Tejapāla. Considering very important position which Pāṭaṇ enjoyed throughout the mediaeval Hindu rule in Western India, we would be well-advised to have again a glace at the splendour of that great city.

37. There is no evidence to show that during the Caulukya and the Vāghelā period there was anything like a system of census, such as we find in the Maurya times. But from several descriptions which we get of Aṇahilvāḍ, we have no hesitation in saying that it had an enormous population. At places it has been referred as the "Narasamudra" ("The ocean of men"). Naturally it was a great centre of trade and commerce. We have a number of important descriptions of the city in contemporary literary works. Descriptions by Hemacandra in his two Dvyāśraya Kāvyas, and by Someśvara in his Kīrtikaumudī are very remarkable, and inspite of poetic exaggerations and embellishments, they are sufficiently realistic to guide the student's historical imagination.[2] The great lake Sahasraliṁga, built by Sidhharāja, which was surrounded by 1008 Śiva temples and 108 Devī temples, and the great Kīrtistambha on which Śrīpāla's Praśasti of the lake was inscribed must have made the surroundings of Aṇahilvāḍ really magnificent. Satraśālās and Maṭhas providing for various departments of learning, where teachers and students were given free lodging, boarding and clothing by the state,[3] must have made the area something like a University suburb. Every sect found a place, and all the schools of philosophy including Budhhist logic[4] were studied in the city. As we shall have occasion to see in the case of Vastupāla, general religious tolerance prevailed everywhere, and we have instances in which different members of a family professed different religions, keeping harmonious relations with one another. There are a number of cases in which persons of the ruling class had become Jaina monks, most interesting among them being that of Droṇācārya (para 20), who was a maternal uncle of Bhīmadeva I and of Surācārya who was a nephew as well as pupil of Droṇācārya.[5]

38. General culture of the city was at a high level, as mentioned in the foregoing pages. In addition to the Vidyāmaṭhas conducted by the state, the

1 R. C. Parikh, op. cit., pp. 229 f.

2 Ibid, p. 232.

3 Vide commentary on the Skt. Dvyāśraya Kāvya, I. 7.

4 Prabhāvakacarita, XVI. 73.

5 Surācārya was also a great scholar and teacher. For the traditional account of his life, vide the Prabhāvakacarita, ch. XVIII.

3

Caityas and Maṭhas of the different sects, in fact, were the academies and colleges where the Vidyātrayī and allied subjects were taught and discussed. It would be interesting to note that in Aṇahilavāḍ and other towns Sanskrit plays were performed on festive occasions, and the people flocked to see them in great enthusiasm. This would not have been possible unless the common people understood the general sense of Sanskrit and Prākrit dialogues. The plays were performed generally in the temples at the order of either the king or minister or a wealthy member of the merchant class. The Karṇasundarī Nāṭikā of the famous Kashmirian poet Bihlaṇa, composed during his short stay in Aṇahilvāḍ in the reign of Karṇa Solaṁkī (1064–1094 A. D.), the father of Sidhharāja, was performed in the temple of Ādinātha at the instance of the minister Sampatkara or Sāntu. Candralekhāvijayaprakaraṇa of Devacandra, one of Hemacandra's pupils (vide supra para 27), was performed in the Kumāravihāra for the entertainment of Kumārapāla's assembly. We have already referred to the acting of the Pārthaparākramavyāyoga of Prahlādana and the Moharājaparājaya of Yaśaḥpāla (see supra para 31–32). The Draupadīsvayaṁvara of Vijayapāla, who was definitely a contemporary of Vastupāla, and lived in the first half of the 13h century A. D., was acted in the Tripuruṣaprāsāda on the occasion of the Vasantotsava at the order of Bhīmadeva II, and the Prabuddharauhiṇeya of Rāmabhadra, delineating the enlightenment of a thief Rauhiṇeya, a contemporary of Mahāvīra according to the Jaina stories, was enacted at Jhalor about year 1200 A. D. by two brothers and merchant-princes-Yaśovīra and Ajayapāla in a temple built by them.[1] We shall have occasion later on to review those plays which were got performed by Vastupāla and his family-members; but the instances given above are enough to support our main argument regarding the cultural conditions prevailing in Gujarāt. Gujarāt is perhaps the only province in India where merchants belonging to Vaṇik castes like Prāgvāṭa, Srīmālī etc. were scholars (cf. ch. IV, last footnote). They composed Sanskrit and Prākrit works not only of the Kāvya and Nāṭaka variety, but also works belonging to other branches of literature like poetics and philosophy. We find some of them who were less learned, requesting their teachers and preachers to write for their enlightenment books on different subjects. Getting the books copied down and also giving them as donation to deserving scholars as well as establishment of Bhāṇḍārs or manuscript-libraries were considered highly meritorious

1 B. J. Sāndesarā, op., cit., pp. 50 ff. We may note here in passing that even after the establishment of Muslim rule in Gujarāt and an independent Gujarātī Sultanate at Ahmedabad, the tradition of staging the Sanskrit plays had continued, at least in a few surviving Hindu states. About the year 1449 A. D. we have a nine-act play, the Gaṁgādāsapratāpavilāsa of Gaṁgādhara, a protege of Gaṁgādāsa, king of Chāmpāner, a hill-fort in the Panchamahāl district. It is a historical play based on a contemporary event describing the defeat of Sultan Muhammad II of Ahmedabad at the hand of Gaṁgādāsa. The play depicts the heroic sentiment, and it was performed at Chāmpāner in the assembly-hall of the shrine of the goddess Mahākālī.

deeds, as Jñāna or books was one of the seven Kṣetras enjoined by the Jaina religion for spending wealth. But this does not mean that literary activity in Gujarāt was restricted to the followers of the Jaina faith. Śaivism was the hereditary faith of the Caulukya dynasty, and the Purohita was generally a learned person. Someśvara, the friend and protege of Vastupāla, was one of those hereditary priests. It was through the good offices of one of his ancestors-Soma or Someśvara-that during the reign of Durlabharāja (1010–1022 A. D.) the Suvihita monks of Jain sect could get residence in Pāṭaṇ in the teeth of opposition by the Caityavāsī monks of the same sect.[1] The king patronised learning; and poetry, scholarship and learned debates flourished at his court. Consequently, the Brahmins also must have composed a considerable number of literary works, because they had inherited the traditional lore through generations. But in comparision to the works composed by the Jainas, the Brahmin works which have survived are very small in number, many of the compositions being irretrievably lost. The reason of this lies in the fact that the Jaina works were carefully guarded in the Bhāṇḍārs which were a public property looked after by the whole community, while there was no such arrangement in respect of the other sect. It is especially noteworthy that several of the rarest Brahmanical and Budhhist works like the Kāvyamīmāṁsā of Rājaśekhara, the Tattvopaplavasiṁha of Bhaṭṭa Jayarāśi and the original Sanskrit Tattvasaṁgraha were available only in the Jaina libraries. At any rate, in Gujarāt of the Caulukyas and the Vāghelās there was a good deal of toleration and intellectual understanding among the followers of both the faiths, which expressed itself powerfully in the varied literary output and a remarkable cultural co-operation in life. It was in these times that Vastupāla and his literary circle lived, and did their work.

---

1 Prabhāvakacarita, ch. XIX.

PART II

MAHĀMĀTYA VASTUPĀLA

AND

HIS LITERARY CIRCLE

CHAPTER II

SOURCES

39. Before coming to the life and works of Vastupāla it would be proper to mention the available sources which would supply the necessary data. The historian of mediaeval Gujarāt is fortunate in this respect that he gets copious material to deal with his subject. The data for the study of the work of Vastupāla and his literary circle can be divided under three heads–(1) literary sources, (2) epigraphic sources, and (3) monuments. Literary sources can be further subdivided into—(a) contemporary, and (b) later. We shall examine here briefly all the three kinds of sources.

Contemporary literary sources

40. As pointed out earlier, Vastupāla being a great patron of learning, the poets and scholars who came in contact with him have left many accounts of their patron, ranging from stray verses to the Mahākāvyas. All those writings are highly important not only for the personal history of Vastupāla, but also for the history of Gujarāt, because the life of Vastupāla was intimately connected with contemporary history. At the same time, some of these works are fine specimens of Sanskrit poetry. In addition to the Naranārāyaṇānanda Mahākāvya by Vastupāla, in the last canto of which he gives an account of his family and of himself, we have the following contemporary literary sources for the study of our subject. Among the Mahākāvyas we get the Kīrtikaumudī and Surathotsava of Someśvara, the Sukṛtasaṁkīrtana of Arisiṁha, the Vasantavilāsa of Bālacandra, and the Dharmābhyudaya or Saṁghapaticaritra of Udayaprabhasūri. The Kīrtikaumudī, the Sukṛtasaṁkīrtana and the Vasantavilāsa are the Mahākāvyas based on contemporary history, having Vastupāla as the hero. The former two works were written during the life-time of Vastupāla, and the third one, viz. the Vasantavilāsa was composed not long after his death, and thus the three works together supply a complete account of Vastupāla (ch. VI, section I), though it must be borne in mind that after all they are ornate poems, and do not give everything necessary for a biography as such in the modern sense. Though the Surathotsava takes a mythological theme, it seems to be a historical allegory, and has some bearing on the vicissitudes of king Bhīmadeva II (para 75) under whom Vastupāla first began his political career (para 47); and the historical portion in the Dharmābhyudaya is mainly devoted to the pilgrimages of Vastupāla as a pious Jaina (para 162-64). The play Hammīramadamardana (between 1220 and 1230 A. D.) of Jayasiṁhasūri is important for Vastupāla's political and military career, as it dramatizes his strategy in repulsing a Muslim on-slaught (para 200-202). The Revantagiri Rāsu by Vijayasensūri, Vastupāla's Guru, and the Ābu Rāsa (1233 A. D.) by a poet who calls himself Pālhaṇaputra ('son of Pālhaṇa') are poetical works in Apabhraṁśa and describe Vastupāla's pilgrimage to Revantagiri or Girnār and his building of temples on Ābu, respectively (vide chapter XIII). The Prabandhāvalī of Jinabhadra (1234 A. D.) is

also worthy of note, because it is the oldest specimen available of the Prabandha-form (vide chapter XI), and also because the author refers to some incidents of Vastupāla's life, which have proved to be helpful in solving important chronological problems (para 129). There are two small poetical works known as the Vastupālapraśasti by Narendraprabhasūri (para 122 and 216), one Vastupālapraśasti by Naracandrasūri (para 215), and also a Vastupālastuti by Udayaprabhasūri (para 214)–all of them describing the good deeds of Vastupāla. In addition to these contemporary compositions, there is a host of others, which though not devoted to the life of the hero, give important information in their Praśastis and colophons, and also by way of stray references in the body of the text.

Later literary sources

41. Among the later literary sources, the most important are the Prabandhacintāmaṇi of Merutuṁga (1305 A. D.), the Prabandhakośa of Rājaśekharasūri (1349 A. D.), and the Purātanaprabandhasaṁgraha, a collection of several Prabandhasaṁgrahas composed in the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries. The Vividhatīrthakalpa of Jinaprabhasūri (completed in 1333 A. D.) is also worthy of note. The Vastupālacarita of Jinaharṣa (1441 A. D.) is a detailed biography of Vastupāla and deserves a close study, because though composed about two centuries after the death of the hero, it supplies many authentic facts about him, which are not given even by contemporary authors, and is comparatively free from exaggerations. It seems that Jinaharṣa had utilized all the historical material which was available in his times, bearing on the life and works of Vastupāla. The Upadeśataraṁgiṇī of Ratnamandiragaṇi (about 1461 A. D.), the Prabandhapañcaśatī or Kathākośa of Śubhaśīlagaṇi (1453 A. D.), and the Upadeśasaptati of Somadharma (1447 A. D.) are the Prabandha-works[1] of the 15th century, and all of them, especially the first, contain much that is important for the study of the cultural aspect of Vastupāla's life, and for his contact with several poets in the capacity of a patron. Several Jaina poets have written in old Gujarātī, poetical works called the Vastupāla Rāsa or Vastupāla-Tejapāla Rāsa, and such Rāsas by Hīrānanda (1428 A. D.), Lakṣmīsāgara (after 1452 A. D.), Pārśvacandra (1541 A. D.), Samayasundara (1626 A. D.), and Meruvijaya (1665 A. D.) are available. Though these were written a long time after the death of Vastupāla, and in conventional pattern, some of them supply very significant data about the personal history of the hero, which are not given by any of the contemporary authors for one reason or another.

Epigraphic sources

42. As epigraphic sources we have a number of inscriptions of Vastupāla–some of them very short, of a few lines only, while others comparatively long like independent Kāvyas, most of which have been published in various journals of Indology, and in collections like the Historical Inscriptions of

1 For a historical and literary evoluation of the Prabandha-form, vide chapter XI.

Gujarāt, Prācīna Jaina Lekha saṁgraha and Prācīna Lekhamālā. Most of the inscriptions are found on Ābu and Girnār, and a few on Tāraṁgā hills in North Gujarāt, at Dabhoi near Baroda, Aṇahilvāḍ Pāṭaṇ, Serisā near Ahmedabad-these being places where Vastupāla and his brother had built temples, and at Navuṁ Saṁgapur[1] near Vījāpur in the Mehsāṇā district. Though Udayaprabha's Sukṛtakīrtikallolinī (1221 A. D.) and Jayasiṁhasūri's Vastupāla-Tejapāla Praśasti are not extant as inscriptions, they are found from the manuscripts.[2] There are two inscriptions from Prabhāsa Pāṭaṇ known as the Sarasvatīsadana Praśasti (1272 A. D.) and an incomplete inscription from Vanthali in Saurāṣṭra-which are of great value for the life of Nānāka, a Brahmin poet in the literary circle of Vastupāla (para 85–89). It hardly requires to be said that all these inscriptions are to be treated as contemporary sources, because most of them were written during the life-time of Vastupāla, and though the Vaidyanāthapraśasti (1255 A. D.) of Dabhoi composed by Someśvara, and the Sarasvatīsadana Praśasti were written after his death, they are sufficiently near to his period to be considered as contemporary sources.

Monuments

43. Monuments are important for artistic and cultural history. Vastupāla and Tejapāla had erected a large number of monuments at various places in Gujarāt and Saurāṣṭra (para 58–60), but no trace of them is to be seen now-a-days; only their temples on Ābu and Girnār have been preserved. The temple on Ābu is a memorable specimen of mediaeval Indian architecture, profusely decorated with sculpture of great excellence, and bears eloquent testimony to the fine taste and great munificence of its builders.

---

1 The inscription at Navuṁ Saṁgapur is the least known of all. It is a fragmentary inscription of the Vāghelā period, which respectfully mentions Vastupāla and Tejapāla as ministers. Its text was published, several years ago, by Budhhisāgarasūri in the Bṛhad Vījāpura-vṛttānta (Guj.), intro., pp. 2–8. The Baroda Archaeological Report, 1938–39 (p. 3), has taken a notice of the inscription.

2 For a critical survey and literary appreciation of those inscriptions of Vastupāla which deserve the place of independent Kāvyas, vide chapter VIII.

CHAPTER III

PERSONAL AND POLITICAL HISTORY OF VASTUPĀLA

Ancestors of Vastupāla

44. In order to assess properly Vastupāla's role as a great patron of literature and art, it is necessary to narrate in brief his personal and political history. There is no dearth of material on the subject, though sometimes we get conflicting and confusing statements. Vastupāla and Tejapāla were born in an aristocratic Prāgvāṭa family of Aṇahilvaḍ Pāṭaṇ. We get authentic information about their ancestry. The chronicles begin the genealogy of Vastupāla from a man named Caṇḍapa.[1] According to Vastupāla himself and his friend Someśvara, Caṇḍapa was a minister.[2] Most probably, he was a minister of a Caulukya king at Aṇahilvāḍ. His son was Caṇḍaprasāda, whose hand was never without the ministerial seal.[3] He had two sons—Soma and Sūra. Soma was keeper of jewels in the court of Sidhharāja Jayasiṁha.[4] His wife was Sītā,[5] and she bore him a son named Aśvarāja or Aśārāja, who also held some ministerial position.[6] Aśvarāja had married Kumāradevī, daughter of a Prāgvāṭa Vaṇik named Ābhu, who was a Daṇḍapati.[7] Aśvarāja and Kumāradevī were parents of Vastupāla.

Vastupāla-son of a remarried widow

45. A tradition has come down to this day, according to which Kumāradevī was a widow remarried to Aśvarāja. Merutuṁga[8] has noted this tradition for the first time, and three old Gujarātī poems called Vastupāla Rāsa by Lakṣmīsāgara, Pārśvacandra[9] and Meruvijaya[10] have confirmed it. C. D. Dalal[11] and M. D. Desai[12]. have, however, refused to accept the tradition as authentic on the ground that none of the contemporary works has mentioned it. Here is an interesting problem of historical method. Generally speaking, contemporay accounts are to be regarded as more trustworthy than writings of later date. But there may be certain matters about a person on which the contemporaries would prefer to remain silent, especially on matters which are not quite complimentary either to the person concerned or to his family, and therefore such matters would not be mentioned by those who are more concerned with praising him rather than presenting a critical account of his life. This may be the reason why the remarriage of Kumāradevī, the mother

1-2 NN, XVI. 3; KK, III. 4.
3 KK, III. 9.
4 Ibid, III. 14.
5 Ibid, III. 16.
6 Ibid, III. 17 and 22.
7 Ibid, III. 22; NN, XVI. 25; vide VC, ch. I.
8 PC, p. 98.
9 JSS, Vol. III, pp. 112 ff.
10 Vastupāla-Tejapāla Rāsa, pp. 12 ff.
11 VV, intro., p. 13.
12 JSI, pp. 351 f.

of Vastupāla, may not have been mentioned by the contemporaries; later writers, however, would not feel the same scruples or hesitancy which the contemporaries felt. And hence we cannot reject this tradition merely on the ground that it was not mentioned by contemporary authors. Merutuṁga who wrote his work only about six decades after the death of Vastupāla and one of whose aims is to eulogize the great men of Jaina religion, would not mention it but for its authenticity. Later Rāsas which have narrated the account of Kumāradevī's remarriage have not copied Merutuṁga, but they seem to have followed entirely independent sources, which shows that there must have been other evidence for the fact.[1] The Vīravaṁśāvalī, an old Gujarāti genealogy of Jaina teachers, supports the tradition in a slightly different manner.[2] If it was not a fact that Vastupāla was the son of a remarried widow, the tradition would not have found such a wide currency after his death.

Brothers and sisters of Vastupāla

46. Kumāradevī and Aśvarāja had elevan issues in all–seven daughters named Jālhu, Māu, Sāu, Dhanadevī, Sohagā, Vaiju and Padmaladevī,[3] and four sons named Luṇiga, Malladeva, Vastupāla and Tejapāla. Out of these four brothers Luṇiga died at an early age, and Malladeva expired in youth after becoming father of a son, Pūrṇasiṁha. Even though we have plenty of information about Vastupāla, we have no means of finding out the date of his birth. The earliest date that we find recorded is V. S. 1249 (1193 A. D.),[4] given in an inscripton without date, but epigraphically not later than Vastupāla's period, preserved in the Watson Museum at Rajkot. According to the inscription, Vastupāla and his younger brother Tejapāla had made the pilgrimage to Śatruñjaya with their father in that year. It may be assumed that this was in their childhood. Vastupāla had two wives—Lalitā and Sokhu or Vayajalladevī, and Tejapāla was married to Anupamā, who is famous as a wise counsellor of both the brothers, and to the less known Suhavadevī.

Beginning of political career

47. Very little is known about the early life of Vastupāla and Tejapāla. In early childhood they were living with their father in a town called Suṁhālakapura which was given to him as areward for services to the Caulukya king.[5] After the death of Aśvarāja, the two brothers with their mother went

1 Strangely enough, both the Rāsas by Lakṣmīsāgara and Pārśvacandra have sought the precedent for widow-remarriage in the fact that Ādinātha, the first Tīrthaṁkara had married a widow, and hence they say that others also could follow the ancient custom (JSS, Vol. III, pp. 113 and 118).

2 This work adds that the division in Vṛdhhaśākhā and Laghuśākhā (mod. Vīsā and Daśā) of the Vaṇik community of Gujarāt-especially among the Prāgvāṭas-began with this incident, which was against the prevalent custom. Those who were with Vastupāla became Laghuśākhīya, i. e. inferior. Vide JSS, Vol. III, pp. 36-37 of the text.

3 PJLS, no. 64, and also nos. 94-97 and 103. Also VC, ch. I.

4 VV, intro., p. 11.

5 VC, ch. I.

to Maṇḍalī[1] (modern Māṇḍala near Viramgām) when we have no means of ascertaining, lived there until the death of their mother, after which they seem to have begun their political career. While returning from a pilgrimage to Śatruñjaya they came to Dhavalakka. The Kīrtikaumudī, the Vasantavilāsa, the Prabandhacintāmaṇi, and the Prabandhakośa mention that the two brothers had gone to Dhavalakka and Vīradhavala had made their appointment, after they were introduced to him by Someśvara. The Sukṛtasaṁkīrtana (canto IV), the Vastupāla-Tejapālapraśasti of Jayasiṁhasūri (verse 51), and the Sukṛtakīrtikallolinī of Udayaprabha (verses 118-19), on the other hand, inform us that they were already in the service of Bhīmadeva II of Aṇahilvāḍ, and that he had given them to Vīradhavala at his request. Vastupāla's own statement at the end of the Naranārāyaṇānanda, however, removes all doubts and makes it quite clear that he was first under Bhīmadeva,[2] and his services were lent to the court of Dhavalakka only afterwards. We do not know when Vastupāla joined the service of Bhīma, but it is certain that he and his brother were appointed at Dhavalakka in 1220 A. D. (V. S. 1276).[3] It was after this that their great career began, which made its mark in almost all the fields of life.

Economic and political consolidation of the Gujarāt kingdom

48. While Bhīmadeva II was struggling hard to maintain his central authority, the Vāghelās who formed a branch of the Caulukyas sprung from Ānāka or Arṇorāja, the son of the sister of Kumārapāla's mother, were becoming stronger roundabout Dhavalakka, which was their capital. In return for services to Kumārapāla, Ānāka had received the village of Vyāghrapallī or Vāghela, about 10 miles south-west of Aṇahilavāḍ. And hence the name Vāghelās given to his discendents.[4] Ānāka survived Kumārapāla, and served also under Bhīmadeva II, and strove until death to re-establish the glory of the Caulukya kingdom. Ānāka's son was Lavaṇaprasāda, and his son was Vīradhavala. It seems probable from the account given in the sources that for a time these father and son-Lavaṇaprasāda and Vīradhavala were ruling at Dhavalakka. Bhīmadeva II, who is known in history as Bholo or simpleton, was a weak sovereign, and he was unable to protect his kingdom from the depredation of his feudatories as well as the foreign enemies, and there was a time when a chieftain named Jayantasiṁha could usurp the throne of Aṇahilavāḍ for some time, about 1224 A. D. (V. S. 1280), and issue the grants in his own name.[5] Naturally, Bhīma must have been compelled to abandon

1 Ibid. Also PK, p. 103.

2 भास्वत्प्रभावमधुराय निरन्तरायधर्मोत्सवव्यतिकराय निरन्तराय ।
यो गुर्जरावनिमहीपतिभीमभूपमन्त्रीन्द्रतापरवशत्वमपि प्रपेदे ॥ (NN, XVI. 35)

3 This fact has been noted in all the Girnār inscriptions of Vastupāla.

4 BG, Vol. I, pt. I, p. 198.

5 Bühler, IA, Vol. VI, pp. 187 ff. Also cf. following quotations—
सततविततदानक्षीणनिःशेषलक्ष्मीः रितसितरुचिकीर्तिर्भीमभूमिभुजङ्गः ।
बलकवलितभूमिमण्डलो मण्डलेशैश्चिरमुपचितचिन्ताक्रान्तचित्तान्तरोऽभूत् ॥ (SS, II. 51)
मन्त्रिभिर्माण्डलीकैश्च बलवद्भिः शनैः शनैः । बालस्य भूमिपालस्य तस्य राज्यं व्यभज्यत ॥
(KK, II. 61)

his throne and take refuge somewhere. To regain the lost splendour of his kingdom, Bhīma had made Lavaṇaprasāda his Sarveśvara or vice-regent, and it is to his credit and that of his son Vīradhavala that though they became all-powerful in the kingdom and became successful for the time being to re-establish the the glory of Aṇahilavāḍ, they themselves did not think of usurping the throne of Aṇahilavāḍ, and remained Mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras and Rāṇakas upto the end of their life, though they could have easily become in turn the Mahārājādhirājas.[1] Leading supporters of both Lavaṇaprasāda and Vīradhavala were their ministers Vastupāla and Tejapāla, who by their valour and statesmanship spread the power of the Vāghelās in the entire region between the rivers Sābarmatī and Narmadā, and having established peace and order in the whole of Gujarāt made the country secure from disruptive forces.

49. It appears from the Prabandhas that after his appointment Vastupāla was placed as the governor of Stambhatīrtha or Cambay, and Tejapāla was in charge of the ministerial seal.[2] Vastupāla redressed many of the wrongs committed by previous governers. During his administration there was a marked improvement in the moral tone of the people, a check was placed on unscrupulous people making money by base means, and all people carried on their business honestly in security. He put an end to piracy (KK, IV. 16). He checked corruption with a strong hand and overhauled the whole administration. He took a fine of 2100 drammas from an old corrupt official.[3] There were great arrears in state-revenue; he employed the four means mentioned in the Nītiśāstra to reclaim the arrears and made the state-treasury full.[4] He checked accounts of several high officers in Stambhatīrtha, who were reluctant to make a suitable report, and punished them.[5] He also punished several unjust headmen of the villages roundabout Stambhatīrtha and erected temples with money recovered from them.[6] Thus he put an end to the Mātsya Nyāya prevailing in the state (VC, IV. 40), and curbed the laxity of officials, both high and low, with commendable sternness. It is quite possible that the war-like deeds of Vastupāla and his brother were mostly undertaken with a view to ending the law of jungle and restoring confidence among the people, as well as with the aim of filling the coffers of the state which had become quite empty during the weak rule of Bhīmadeva. The Vastupālacarita states that in punishing Sadik or Said, a wealthy Muslim merchant of Stambhatīrtha (see para 59), Vastupāla's aim was to show that now there was no place for

1 It was destined for Vīsaladeva (1238–1261 A. D.), son of Vīradhavala, to become the Mahārājādhirāja. After ruling at Dhavalakka as the Maṇḍaleśvara for 9 years he came to the throne of Pāṭaṇ either by killing the last Caulukya monarch Tribhuvanapāla or because Tribhuvanapāla left no heir (Shastri, GMRI, Vol. II, p. 399).

2 PK, p. 102.

3 VC, ch. II; PK, p. 103.

4 VC, Ch. II.

5 Ibid, ch. IV.

6 Ibid.

the Mātsya Nyāya.[1] In short, the first work of Vastupāla after coming to power was to secure the economic as well as political consolidation of the Gujarāt kingdom.

Victory over S'aṁkha

50. When Vastupāla had succeeded in restoring peace in the region roundabout Dhavalakka and Stambhatīrtha, Śaṁkha, the ruler of Lāṭa, made an attack on him, claiming that the port of Stambhatīrtha was a possession of the king of Lāṭa. After a fierce fight, at a place called Vaṭakūpa (or Vaḍavā) near Stambhatīrtha, Śaṁkha found Vastupāla to be more than a match for him and made a hasty retreat. To commemorate this victory the citizens of Stambhatīrtha celebrated a festival in the shrine of the goddess Ekallavīrā, which was outside the town., and the minister went there to pay his homage to the deity.[2] This incident must have occurred before 1223 A. D. (V. S. 1279), because in that year Vastupāla entrusted the governorship of Stambhatīrtha to his son Jayantasiṁha or Jaitrasiṁha[3] after overhauling the administration of that city, which was the principal port of Nothern India and hence a place of great importance from the economic and commercial point of view.

Treaty with the Yādava king of Devagiri

51. Another time of peril was the joint attack of Yādava Siṁhaṇa or Siṁghaṇa of Davagiri from the south and four Mārvāḍī rulers from the north. Lavaṇaprasāda and Vīradhavala went to meet the enemy, but with the powerful invader in front and a combination of four hostile kings in the rear the position was indeed critical. But Lavaṇaprasāda and his son did not lose courage and fought valiantly. In the end there was a truce with the four chiefs from Mārvād,[4] as well as with the Yādava king from Devagiri.[5] Text of the treaty with Siṁhaṇa preserved in the Lekhapadhhati, a work giving different documentary forms, mentions the date as 1232 A. D. (V. S. 1288); if we take it as correct-and we may, as there is no evidence to the contrary-it may be said that the fight with Simhaṇa must have ended in that year.

Other warlike deeds of Vīradhavala and his ministers

52. The Prabandhas describe several other warlike deeds of Vīradhavala and his two ministers. First of all, they conquered the rulers of Vāmanasthalī (modern Vanthali near Junāgaḍh), Sāṁgaṇa and Cāmuṇḍa, who were the brothers of Vīradhavala's queen Jayataladevī, who declined to pay homage to Vīradhavala inspite of repeated entreaties from their sister. They were slain in a combat and the great riches of the palace of Vāmanasthalī came into the hands of Vīradhavala.[6] Vīradhavala led another attack against

1 Ibid.

2 KK, ch. IV-V; VV, ch. V; also vide PK, pp. 108-109; PC, p. 102.

3 PJLS, no. 40-3.

4 KK, VI. 67.

5 Lekhapadhhati, p. 52; also vide BG, Vol. I, pt. I, pp. 199 f.

6 PK, pp. 103 f.; VC, ch. II.

Bhīmasiṁha of the Pratihāra clan ruling at Bhadreśvara in Cutch, but as Bhīmasiṁha was served by several powerful warriors who had come from Mārvāḍ, Vīradhavala could not conquer him, but had to return after making a peace-treaty.[1] By this treaty a new friend was made and the Cuth border became free from danger. After this, Vīradhavala thought of subduing Ghūghula, a chief ruling at Godraha (modern Godhrā) in the Mahītaṭa region or the banks of the river Mahī. Ghūghula had made an alliance with the Mārvāḍ kings when the latter attacked Gujarāt, and was plundering the merchants, pilgrims and caravans coming to and going from Gujarāt. Tejapāla was sent with a strong force. He captured Ghūghula and put him in a wooden cage and appointed one of his lieutenants as a governor of Godraha. Ghūghula, unable to bear this insult, committed suicide by biting his tongue.[2] As a result of this victory power of the Vāghelās extended upto the eastern border of Gujarāt, and the trade-route to Mālvā was again made secure.

How a Muslim attack was repulsed

53. There is ample historical evidence to show that during the rule of Vīradhavala, there was a Muslim attack on Gujarāt, and that it was successfully repulsed by the strategy of Vastupāla. Jayasiṁhasūri has dramatized this event in his Sanskrit play Hammīramadamardana. The Prabandhakośa describes how Sultān Mojdīn of Delhi had invaded Gujarāt, and how he was encircled by Dhārāvarṣa of Candrāvatī from the north and Vastupāla from the south after his army had entered a mountain pass near Ābu.[3] Consequently the Sultān had to retreat.[4] After some time the Sultān's mother (according to the Prabandhacintāmaṇi, his teacher) was going on a pilgrimage to the holy Mecca, and had come to a port of Gujarāt, most probably Stambhatīrtha, to take a boat. Vastupāla ordered his men to take possession of the old woman's property. The captain of the ship came and complained before Vastupāla that the pirates had robbed the old woman. Vastupāla caught the pirates who were really sent by him, and returned the old woman's property after receiving her with great respect, and also provided for her comfort and safety. While returning from Mecca, she took Vastupāla with her to Delhi, and introduced him to the Sultān. Vastupāla obtained a promise from the Sultān to keep friendship with Vīradhavala, and

1 PK, pp. 104 ff.; VC, ch. II.

2 PK, pp. 107 f.; VC, ch. III.

3 PK, p. 117.

4 There is some controversy about the identification of Mojdin or Muizuddin, as no Sultān bearing that name sat on the throne of Delhi. The BG (Vol. I, pt. I, p. 201) considers Mojdīn to be Muhammad Ghorī. Prof. R. C. Parikh has identified him with Shāhabuddin Ghorī (JSS, Vol. III, pp. 153 ff.). Pandit G. H. Oza (Rājputāne kā Itihās, Vol. I, pp. 467 f.), Mr. D. K. Shastri (GMRI, Vol. II, pp. 380 f.) and myself ('Gujarātī,' Divālī number, A. D. 1934, pp. 18 f.) have identified him with Sultān Altamash (1210-1235 A. D.) of Delhi, and that seems to be the most natural identification on chronological grounds.

thus made his kingdom safe. Coming back from Delhi Vastupāla was received by Vīradhavala with great honour.[1] As the play Hammīramadamardana, depicting the victory of Vastupāla over the Muslim ruler was copied down in 1230 A. D. (1286 V. S.),[2] this event must have occurred between 1220 and 1230 A. D. (1276 and 1286 V. S.), the date of commencement of Vastupāla's ministry and the date of the manuscript of the play preserved in the Jesalmer Bhāṇḍār, respectively.

Death of Vīradhavala and Vastupāla

54. King Vīradhavala died in 1238 A. D.[3] His popularity has created a tradition that a large number of people burnt themselves on his funeral pyre; and Tejapāla had to come to the creamation ground with army to check others from doing so.[4] Vīradhavala had two sons—Pratāpamalla and Vīsaladeva. Pratāpamalla had died during the life-time of Vīradhavala, leaving a son, Arjunadeva, after him. Vīsaladeva, the younger son of Vīradhavala, came to throne in 1238 A. D.[5] Vīstupāla died in 1240 A. D. (1296 V. S.), only two years after Vīsaladeva's coming to throne. Both the Prabandhakośa[6] and the Vastupālacarita[7] have given 1242 A. D. (1298 V. S.) as the date of Vastupāla's death, and it was generally believed to be correct. But the Vasantavilāsa Mahākāvya of the contemporary Bālacandra has the date of his death as sunday the fifth day of the bright half of the month Māgha in the year 1296 V. S. (1st January, 1240 A. D.).[8] This

1 PK, pp. 119 f.; PC, p. 103.

2 HMM, intro., p. 1; JBC, p. 23.

3 BG, Vol. I, pt. I, p. 203. Also vide the Rājāvalī Koṣṭhaka in the appendix to the Śatruñjayatīrthodhhāraprabandha. Bühler has given the date as 1295 V. S. (IA, Vol. VI, p. 213). It may be noted here that we do not know anything about the death of Lavaṇaprasād. The BG (Vol. I, pt. I, p. 200) has assumed that Lavaṇaprasāda abdicated in favour of Vīradhavala in the year 1232 A. D., after the conclusion of the treaty with Siṁhaṇa of Devagiri. Others think that perhaps he might have died by that year (GMRI, Vol. II, p. 389). The Rājāvalīkoṣṭhaka begins the rule of Vīradhavala from 1282 V. S. (1226 A. D.). On the whole, it seems plausible that Lavaṇaprasāda died between 1232 and 1238 A. D.

4 PC, p. 105.

5 The Prabandhas give an account of Vīrama, Vīradhavala's son, and his attempt to capture the throne (PK, pp. 124 f.). It is said that his attempt failed and Vīsaladeva could come to the throne only because of Vastupāla's help. But it is proved now that Vīradhavala had no son called Vīrama, and hence the story given in the Prabandha is not to be relied upon (GMRI, Vol. II, pp. 390 ff.).

6 PK, pp. 127 f.

7 VC, ch. VIII.

8 वर्षे हर्षनिषण्णषण्णवतिके श्रीविक्रमोर्वीभृतः कालाद् द्वादशसंख्यहायनशतात् मासेऽत्र माघाह्वये ।
पञ्चम्यां च तिथौ दिनादिसमये वारे च भानोस्तवोद्वोढुं सद्गतिमस्ति लग्नमसमं तत्त्वर्यतां त्वर्यताम् ॥
(VV, XIV. 37)

statement is also supported by the dates in a palm-leaf manuscript, which mentions that Vastupāla died in 1296 V. S. and Tejapāla in 1304 V. S. (1248 A. D.).[1] The Prabandhas say that Vastupāla expired in the village Aṁkevāliā (situated 10 miles south-east of Waḍhvāṇ in Saurāṣṭra), while he was going on his last pilgrimage to Śatruñjaya.[2] The statement may be reliable, but we do not find it mentioned in the Vasantavilāsa.[3] The Prabandhakośa (p. 125) and the Vividhatīrthakalpa (p. 80) refer to the loss of Vastupāla's ministerial power in favour of the Nāgara minister Nāgaḍa. Elsewhere it is said that Vastupāla had incurred the anger of Vīsaladeva, because of the punishment meted by the former to a maternal uncle of the king, as that man had insulted a Jaina Sādhu, but the minister was saved by the intervention of Someśvara.[4] It is also mentioned that once Vīsaladeva demanded from Vastupāla the accounts of the state-revenue, and finding that some of the money was spent after temples etc., decided to punish him, but here also the king was held back by Someśvara.[5] Though we may not accept such stories in their entirety, they can be considered as indicative of the fact that the minister had incurred the displeasure of the new king, in his later life. There is nothing inherently impossible in this, as we know several such instances in history, when a new king finds it difficult to pull on with the old minister. But here, there is no evidence to show that Vastupāla was actually displaced by Vīsaladeva, though he was no more on very good terms with the young sovereign. It is not unlikely that this may have been due to the machinations of Nāgara politicians led by Nāgaḍa or because Vīsaladeva might have felt the old minister rather too overbearing to be tolerated.

Death of Tejapāla

55. There is a very trustworthy evidence to show that Tejapāla, the younger brother, continued as the Mahāmātya or prime minister for a few years after the death of Vastupāla, and that the king's displeasure was not so great as to displace him from the office. In an Ābu inscription of the third day of the bright half of month Vaiśākha of year 1296 V. S. (26th April, 1240 A. D.), Tejapāla is referred to as the Mahāmātya,[6] which corroborates the above statement that Vastupala died in the Māgha month of the year, and Tejapāla took the charge of his office. In the colophon of a palm-leaf manuscript of

---

1 Ibid, intro., p. 8.

2 PC, p. 105; PK, p. 128; VC, ch. VIII.

3 The VV, on the other hand, informs that Vastupāla ascended Mt. Śatruñjaya and married Sadgati (or felicity), daughter of Dharma, before Ādinātha. That is, in simple words, he expired on Śatruñjaya (VV, XIV. 49-52). We do not know if this is a mere allegory or an actual fact. It is probable that though Vastupāla died on the way to Śatruñjaya, Bālacandra may have described it otherwise to make the allegory of marriage before Ādinātha, poetically complete.

4 PK, pp. 126 f.; VC, ch. VIII.

5 PK, p. 125.

6 PJLS, no. 66.

1298 V. S. (1242 A. D.), Luṇasiṁha, the son of Mahāmātya Tejapāla, is mentioned as the governor of Bṛgukachha.[1] In a manuscript of the Ācārāṁga Sūtra of V. S. 1303 (1247 A. D.), Tejapāla is called a Mahāmātya in power at Aṇahillapura.[2] We get the first colophon mentioning Nāgaḍa as the Mahāmātya in 1310 V. S. (1254 A. D.),[3] which shows that Tejapāla died between 1247 and 1254 A. D. According to the Vastupālacarita, Tejapāla died ten years after Vastupāla, and the Prabandhakośa gives 1308 V. S. (1252 A. D.) as the year of his death. Thus the year 1306 V. S. (Vastupāla's death in 1296+10 years = 1306 V. S. = 1250 A. D.), 1308 V. S. (= 1252 A. D.) or 1304 V. S. (= 1248 A. D., as given in an old palm-leaf manuscript; vide para 54) may be taken as the year of Tejapāla's death. Unfortunately, we have no trustworthy evidence, as in the case of Vastupāla, to choose one of these three dates as historically final. In any case, it can be definitely said that Nāgara Brāhmin Nāgaḍa became the Mahāmātya of Vīsaladeva only after Tejapāla's demise.

---

1 PBC, p. 60.

2 Peterson, First Report, Appendix I, p. 41.

3 JBC, pp. 37 f.

CHAPTER IV

VASTUPĀLA-A GREAT PATRON OF LITERATURE AND ART AND A MAN OF LETTERS

56. As can be seen from chapter III, Vastupāla and Tejapāla wielded a great influence at the courts of Dhavalakka and Aṇahilavāḍ, and they consolidated the state of Gujarāt politically as well as economically. But they are more remembered for cultural activities inspired by their splendid munificence. They brought a cultural renaissance in Gujarāt, such as would remind one of the days of the great savant Hemacandra, and which vied with the cultural glories of Mālvā under kings Muñja and Bhoja.

Pilgrimages of Vastupāla

57. According to the Prabandhas, Vastupāla had made thirteen pilgrimages to Śatruñjaya and Girnār. In childhood he went to both the places with his father Aśvarāja, who was a Saṁghapati or leader of the pilgrims' caravan. That was in the years 1193 and 1194 A. D. After becoming a minister he led the Saṁghas more than once, and undertook the pilgrimage of Śatruñjaya and Girnār in the years 1221, 1234, 1235, 1236 and 1237 A. D. He also went to Śatruñjaya only with his family in the years 1227, 1228, 1229, 1230, 1231, 1232 and 1233 A. D.[1] The last pilgrimage, which he desired to make, to Śatruñjaya, but could not complete owing to his death on the way, was begun in 1240 A. D., and has been described by Bālacandra in the Vasantavilāsa Mahākāvya. The pilgrimage which he did in 1221 A. D. was probably the most important one, as it is the only pilgrimage repeatedly mentioned in the Girnār inscriptions and presumably the same one is described with remarkable accuracy and poetic skill in contemporary works like the Kīrtikaumudī, the Sukṛtasaṁkīrtana, the Dharmābhyudaya etc., with which we shall deal in chapter VI.

Public works of Vastupāla

58. Even if we look to the account given in the contemporary literary works, which may be safely relied upon, the monuments and public works like temples, rest houses, tanks, wells etc. erected and sunk by the ministers were very numerous.[2] Even if we consider only the contemporary evidence, keeping aside the later Prabandhas, there is no doubt that their munificence and philanthrophy extended to a large number of places in the whole of Gujarāt, Saurāṣṭra and Mārvāḍ. Jinaprabhasūri and Rājaśekhara assert that their public works extended to Śrī Śaila in the south, Prabhāsa in the west, Kedāra in the north and Benares in the east.[3] This does not seem improbable when we consider the fact that the scholars, poets and religious men from almost the whole of India were coming in those days to Aṇahilavāḍ and Dhavalakka, and were getting some patronage from Vastu-

1 VC, ch. VIII; PPS, p. 59; also vide JSI, pp. 308 f.

2 NN, XVI. 37; also vide SS, SKK, etc.

3 VTK, pp. 79 f.; PK, p. 130.

pāla and his brother. Public works of Vastupāla were not limited only to the Jaina religion which he professed. We are told that he also built hospitals, Brahmaśālās, Maṭhas, Śiva temples, and even mosques.[1] There might be some exaggeration in the later accounts, because places on which Vastupāla spent wealth in public works are about 50 in a contemporary source like the Sukṛtasaṁkīrtana. That number we find greatly increased in the works of Rājaśekhara, Jinaharṣa and Jinaprabha; and some of the details seem ridiculous, because they are evident exaggerations. But even if we look to plain facts given by contemporary authors, th re is no doubt that Vastupāla was one of the greatest philanthrophists that Gujarāt and perhaps India has ever produced.

59. Vastupāla and Tejapāla spent a large amount of wealth after their public works, and one would like to know where this wealth came from. We already know that the two brothers came from an aristocratic family, which was supplying statesmen to the state of Gujarāt, and hence they must be enjoying considerable affluence. The Prabandhas contain stories as to how they came to possess fabulous wealth. Though these read like some folk-tales, it is probable that they contain germs of truth: When Vastupāla was appointed as the governor of Stambhatīrtha, a Muslim merchant named Said or Sadik refused to accept his authority. When Vastupāla tried to punish him, Said called Śaṁkha, the prince of Laṭa to his aid. But Śaṁkha was defeated, Said captured and his property confiscated. When this was reported to the king, he ordered that all the valuables of Said should go to the state, but assigned the dust of his house to Vastupāla. Much of the dust was gold-dust and a fire turned more of Said's gold and silver to dust. Thus the bulk of Said's wealth passed to Vastupāla.[2] Another account states that while going on a pilgrimage to Jaina holy places in Saurāṣṭra the two brothers went to bury their wealth amounting to a total value of about one lakh, near a village called Haḍālaka (modern Haḍālā near Dhandhukā). There, while digging the earth, they got more wealth. Vastupāla asked Anupamā, wife of Tejapāla, as to what should be done with this treasure. Anupamā replied that "It may be kept on the peaks of the mountains, so that it may not fall in the hands of some other person, as it has fallen to ours." And Vastupāla and Tejapāla spent it in building famous temples on Girnār and Ābu, and leading Saṁghas to the holy place of Śatruñjaya.[3]

Ābu temple-a memorable specimen of mediaeval Indian architecture

60. Advice of Anupamā has proved to be true, and no public work of Vastupāla and Tejapāla has been preserved to this day, except the temples on Ābu and Girnār.[4] The temple on Ābu was built by Tejapāla in 1231 A. D.

1 PK, pp. 129 f.; VC, ch. II, III & VI; VTK, pp. 79 f.

2 PPS, pp. 56 and 73.

3 PK, p. 101.

4 Three old marble-pillars with inscriptions have been preserved at Pāṭaṇ. Two of them are used as pillars in the comparatively modern structure

(V. S. 1287), and it has Neminātha, the twenty-second Jaina Tīrthaṁkara, as the chief diety. Temples on Girnār were built by Vastupāla in 1232 A. D. (1288 V. S.). The Ābu temple, situated in the temple-city of Delvāḍā, and generally known as Luṇa-vasati in memory of Vastupāla's elder brother Luṇiga,[1] is one of the finest works of mediaeval Indian art, and of sufficient excellence to immortalize the name of its builder in the history of art.[2] This temple as well as the Vimala-vasati, built by Vimalasāha, about two centuries before it, are wholly of white marble, though no quarries of that material, except of inferior quality, are known to exist within 20 or 30 miles of the spot; the transporting and carrying it up the hill to the side of these temples must have added immensely to the expense of the undertaking. Externally the temple is perfectly plain, and one is totally unprepared for the splendour of the interior. As Cousens remarks, "the amount of the beautiful ornamental detail, spread over these temples in the minutely carved decoration of ceilings, pillars, doorways, panels, and niches is simply marvellous; the crisp, thin, translucent, shell-like treatment of the marble surpasses anything seen elsewhere, and some of the designs are veritable dreams of beauty. The work is so delicate that ordinary chiselling would have been disastrous. It is said that much of it was produced by scraping the marble away, and that masons were paid by the amount of marble-dust remained." "The pendent which hangs from the centre of the dome of the temple of Tejapāla is particularly remarkable and rivets the attention of every visitor. Colonel Tod justly remarks, 'the delineation of it defies pen, and would tax to the utmost the pencil of the most patient artist;' and he is secure in asserting that no ornament of the most florid style of Gothic architecture can be compared with it in richness. 'It appears like a cluster of the half-disclosed lotus, whose cups are so thin, so transparent, and so accurately wrought that it fixes the eye in admiration.' The sculpture of the temples does not, however, confine to the representation of inanimate objects; it exercises itself also upon the scenes of domestic life, the labours of navigation and commerce, and the struggles of battle-field; and it may be safely asserted that the student of antiquities, who should devote sufficient attention to these bas-reliefs, would be amply repaid by a large increase of knowledge regarding many interesting points in the manners and customs of mediaeval India."[3] According to the Prabandhas, Vastupāla and Tejapāla spent eighteen crores and ninetysix lakhs on Śatruñjaya, twelve

of the temple of Kālikā Mātā. The third one lies in the local archaeological museum of Dr. Pandyā Abhyāsagṛha. It is evident from the inscriptions that the pillars are the remains of the palaces of Vastupāla and his family-members (These inscriptions have been published by me; vide FGST, Vol. IV, pp. 192 ff.).

1 PC, p. 101. But the inscriptions mention that it was built for the spiritual welfare of Tejapāla's wife Anupamā and son Luṇasiṁha.

2 For description of the temple see Fergusson, History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, Vol. II, pp. 36 ff.; Brown, Indian Architecture, Vol. I, pp. 144 f. Also Sankalia, Archaeology of Gujarāt, pp. 108, 128.

3 Forbes, Rāsmālā, Vol. I, pp. 257 f.

crores and eighty lakhs on Girnār, and twelve crores and fiftythree lakhs after the erection of the Lunavasati on Ābu.[1] There might be exaggeration in these figures, but there is not the least doubt that a vast amount of wealth, and immense labour must have been spent after the building of these monuments, which bespeak extraordinary liberality and religious devotion on the part of their builders. The chronicles say that not only was there no forced labour, as was the case in the erection of some similar buildings elsewhere in India and outside, but ample wages were being given, and utmost care taken for the amenities of the artisans who worked there.[2]

Vastupāla - a great patron of learning and literature

61. Besides being a philanthrophist and patron of art, Vastupāla was a great patron of learning. He had established three public libraries (Bhāṇḍārs) in Aṇahilavāḍ, Stambhatīrtha, and Bṛgukaccha by spending great sums of money for them.[3] His personal library was also very rich, and contained more than one copy of all important Śāstra-works.[4] He was highly liberal towards poets and scholars, and it has been noted in his case that like Bhoja and Vikramāditya, he gave thousands to poets for the composition of one verse or even for a half. Long and detailed accounts of his enjoyment and patronage of poetry have been given in the works like the Prabandhakośa, the Vastupālacarita, the Purātanaprabandhasaṁgraha and the Upadeśataraṁgiṇī. Because of his liberality to the poets he was called Laghu Bhojarāja or Junior Bhoja. So many poets, both known and anonymous, had profited by his liberality that Someśvara has expressed their gratitude in the following words-

सूत्रे वृत्तिः कृता पूर्वं दुर्गसिंहेन धीमता । विसूत्रे तु कृता तेषां वस्तुपालेन मन्त्रिणा ॥[5]

"Formerly learned Durgasiṁha had composed the Vṛtti (commentary) on the Sūtras (of the Kātantra grammar), but the minister Vastupāla has given Vṛtti (means of maintenance) to the poets without any Sūtra."

While giving patronage to poets and making donations in the cause of learning Vastupāla made no distinction between a Jaina and a non-Jaina. He donated ten thousand drammas to the Śaiva Tīrth of Prabhāsa,[6] and gave

---

1 PK, p. 129.

2 Ibid, pp. 122 f.

3 Ibid, p. 129; PPS, p. 65; VTK, p. 80. Institution of Jaina public library or Jñāna-Bhāṇḍār seems to be very old in Gujarāt. When Devardhhi got the Jaina scriptures copied down, they must have been put in some Bhāṇḍār (para 7). It is said that Kumārapāla had established 21 Bhāṇḍārs (Kumārapāla Prabandha, pp. 96 f.). Manuscripts of these Bhāṇḍārs have not been preserved for us. Possibly they were destroyed by the Muslims. There is a palm-leaf manuscript of the Jītakalpa-Cūrṇi-Vyākhyā in the Pāṭaṇ Bhāṇḍār dated 1284 V. S. = 1228 A. D. (PBC, p. 400); it has in its colophon some verses in praise of Vastupāla. Probably it is a rare remain of one of the Bhāṇḍārs of Vastupāla (vide para 220).

4 VC, ch. VII. 113.

5 PK, p. 112; VC, IV. 443.

6 UT, p. 77.

great wealth to the Brāhmins having poetic skill. Such occasions were not rare, but on the contrary, very numerous. And the Kīrtikaumudī says about him–

नानर्च भक्तिमान्नेमौ नेमौ शंकरकेशवौ । जैनोऽपि यः सवेदानां दानाम्भः कुरुते करे ॥[1]

His tolerance of other faiths had become so proverbial that the Purātanaprabandhasaṁgraha has the following verse about him–

बौद्धैर्बौद्धो वैष्णवैर्विष्णुभक्तः शैवैः शैवो योगिभिर्योगरङ्गः ।
जैनैस्तावज्जैन एवेति कृत्वा सत्त्वाधारः स्तूयते वस्तुपालः ॥[2]

62. Moreover, Vastupāla was credited with a critical faculty which enabled him to detect defects in poetic compositions by others, and to make improvements in them. He has been referred to as "the best among the appreciators of poetry and art" (Sahṛdayacūḍamaṇi).[3] Not only did he appreciate poetry and art, but also requested others to write religious and literary works for his instruction and delectation. The Kathāratnākara of Naracandrasūri and the Alaṁkāramahodadhi of Narendraprabhasūri were composed at his request (vide para 119–121). Greater part of his leisure-hours was spent in the company of literary men.[4] He himself has said in the Naranārāyaṇānanda Mahākāvya (XVI. 36) that he could devote his time to the company of poets and scholars, because his younger brother Tejapāla looked properly after the state-affairs. Inspite of the high position which he enjoyed his modesty was proverbial, and amidst the manifold engagements of state-affairs he found time to make a copy in his own hand of the Dharmābhyudaya Mahākāvya of Udayaprabha, a pupil of his preceptor Vijayasenasūri. This manuscript, dated 1290 V. S. (1234 A. D.), has been preserved in the Jaina Bhāṇḍār at Cambay, and we are fortunate in having the handwriting of such a great personality even after the lapse of more than seven centuries (cf. colophon of the manuscript–सं. १२९० वर्षे चैत्र शुद्ध १२ रवौ स्तंभतीर्थवेलाकूलमनुपालयता महं० श्रीवस्तुपालेन श्रीधर्माभ्युदयमहाकाव्यपुस्तकमिदमलेखि ॥). There was hardly a notable scholar, Jaina or non-Jaina, in Gujarāt of those days who had not come in contact with Vastupāla in one way or the other. And there is no wonder that we find a large number of works written directly under his patronage or indirectly under the stimulus of his magnetic personality.

Literary works of Vastupāla

63. It has happened many times in history that patrons of poets were themselves poets. We have many instances of royal poets in Indian literature. The name of Vastupāla also can be counted among such persons. Just as he is praised as a patron of poets in the works which are the sources of much of our information regarding him, he is highly eulogized as a poet too. He is called 'Sarasvatī with a beard' (Kūrcālasarasvatī)[5]

1 KK, IV. 40.

2 PPS, p. 68.

3 सत्कविकाव्यशरीरे दुष्यदगददोषमोषणैकभिषक् । श्रीवस्तुपालसचिवः सहृदयचूडामणिर्जयति ॥ (UR, II)

4 KK, VI.

5 PPS, p. 55.

and Kavikuñjara and Kavicakravartin, and praised as a spiritual son of Sarasvatī.[1] The Prabandhacintāmaṇi (p. 100) and other works call him "ornament of Sarasvatī's neck" (Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa). We are also informed that he had studied from Naracandra the three vidyās, i. e. the Nyāya, Vyākaraṇa and Sāhitya, and also works on Jaina philosophy (para 118). His poetic name was Vasantapāla, which was given to him by Harihara, Someśvara and other poets.[2] This is the reason why Bālacandra has given the name Vasantavilāsa to his poem giving an account of Vastupāla's life. At the end of the Naranārāyaṇānanda, Vastupāla says that his first poem was the result of an inspired outburst in the form of a hymn in the praise of Ādīśvara on the Śatruñjaya hills.[3] This hymn is none other than his Ādināth Stotra. Vastupāla has also written several Stotras like the Neminātha Stotra, Ambikā Stotra, and a short Ārādhanā of ten verses. The Ārādhanā is probably the last composition of Vastupāla, because its first verse (न कृतं सुकृतं किञ्चित्°) has been quoted by the PC (v. 234), PK (v. 337) and PPS (v. 202) as spoken by the minister while on death-bed. The PC (p. 105) says that the minister did his Paryantārādhanā or the last devotional act by uttering this verse when nearing death in the course of his journey to Śatruñjaya; and it seems that he had composed the Ārādhanā during his last pilgrimage, while his health was failing.

64. We also gather from the literary sources that Vastupāla was proficient in composition of Sūktis. Someśvara, in one place, writes as follows about this particular faculty of his patron—

अम्भोजसम्भवसुता वक्त्राम्भोजेऽस्ति वस्तुपालस्य । यद्वीणारणितानि श्रूयन्ते सूक्तिदम्भेन ॥[4]

And Udayaprabha, in the first verse of his Vastupālastuti has praised the Sūktis of Vastupāla in a simple but poetic stanza—

पीयूषादपि पेशला शशधरज्योत्स्नाकलापादपि स्वच्छा नूतनचूतमञ्जरिभरादप्युल्लसत्सौरभाः ।
वाग्देवीमुखसामसूक्तविशदोद्गारादपि प्राञ्जलाः केषां न प्रथयन्ति चेतसि मुदं श्रीवस्तुपालोक्तयः ॥[5]

---

1 In the Girnār inscriptions he is described as धर्मसूनुः सरस्वत्याः and शारदाप्रतिपन्नापत्यः. Also vide KK, I. 29—

वस्तुपालयशोवीरौ सत्यं वाग्देवतासुतौ । एको दानस्वभावोऽभूदुभयोरन्यथा कथम् ॥

Vastupāla has used this epithet for himself in NN, XVI. 40. For laudatory titles (Birudas) of Vastupāla, vide VC, VI. 133-34; also the Vastupāla Rāsa of Hīrānanda.

2 NN, XVI. 38. Just as Vasantapāla is a poetic form of the name Vastupāla, it is not improbable that the form Vastupāla itself may be a Sanskritization of a name which may have perhaps a rustic touch. I am led to this inference because of the fact that the old Gujarātī Rāsas sometimes refer to Vastupāla and Tejapāla as Vastiga and Tejiga. It is significant that even to-day Vasto is a common name in the Baniā community of North Gujarāt and Mārvāḍ.

3 Ibid, XVI. 39.

4 UR, VIII.

5 This verse occurs in PK (p. 116) and UT (p. 78). It is also quoted at the end of canto X of the Dharmābhyudaya Mahākāvya of Udayaprabha.

Vastupāla has been quoted in anthologies, which shows that his poetic fame had spread far and wide outside the borders of Gujarāt. His four verses are found in the Sūktimuktāvali of Jahlaṇa, keeper of elephants of king Kṛṣṇa (1247–1260 A. D.) of Devagiri.[1] Constant warfare was going on between Devagiri and Gujarāt, but as a result of that strife cultural contact got some impetus during the intervals of peace, and there must have been a good deal of give and take on both the sides. In the Śārṁgadharapadhhati of Śārṁgadhara (1363 A. D.) of Śākambharī, a verse of Vastupāla has found place.[2] In the Prabandhas a large number of verses have been put in the mouth of Vastupāla,[3] as spoken by him on particular occasions, and it is certain that most of them are his own composition, in view of his skill in this particular branch of poetry. It can be imagined that he could compose Sanskrit Sūktis on the spur of the moment on suitable occasions. In the Ābu Praśasti, Someśvara has spoken highly of his originality in the field of poetry and his strict administration in the domain of state-craft.[4] Verses spoken by him before his death, while he was on the way to Śatruñjaya, express a deep-seated religious fervour and a humility, which only the great souls can show (PC, p. 105; VC, VIII. 571–74).

65. As remarked earlier, Vastupāla has composed the Naranārāyaṇānanda, a Mahākāvya in 16 cantos, describing the friendship of Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa, their rambles in the Raivataka garden, and the consequent carrying away by Arjuna of Kṛṣṇa's sister Subhadrā. At the end of the poem (XVI. 33), he has mentioned his numerous Saṁghayātrās, and we know from other sources that his first great pilgrimage was undertaken in 1221 A. D.; hence the poem must have been composed after that year. Praising Vastupāla, who did such remarkable work in various fields of life and literature, Narendraprabhasūri has given the following verse, which summarizes succinctly his manifold achievements—

त्यागाः कुड्मलयन्ति कल्पविटपित्यागक्रियापाटवं कामं काव्यकलापि कोमलयति द्वैपायनीयं वचः ।
बुद्धिर्धिक्कुरुते च यस्य धिषणां चाणक्यचिन्तामणेः सोऽयं कस्य न वस्तुपालसचिवोत्तंसः प्रशंसास्पदम् ॥[5]

66. It appears rather unusual to the modern reader that a man should be simultaneously a great statesman and administrator and also a literary figure. Such people are known to patronize learning, but one feels some doubt when they are also credited with authorship of literary works. And such doubts are not altogether groundless, because it is believed by some scholars in the case of such famous kings as Bhoja and others that they are credited with the

1 (I) अध्वानं यदि० (II) यत्रोन्मुखं० (III) संप्रति न० (IV) साम्यं निम्नोन्नतता०. The first verse has been traced to NN, I. 6.

2 संप्रति न० (no. 66), which is also common to SM.

3 PPS, p. 64; PK, pp. 114, 116, 123, 124, 125, 128; PC, p. 105; VC, VI. 507, 508, 552, 609, 610, etc. In case of several verses the PC has made following significant remark-इत्यादीनि श्रीवस्तुपालमहाकवेः स्वयंकृतान्यमूनि (p. 105).

4 विरचयति वस्तुपालश्चुलुक्यसचिवेषु कविषु च प्रवरः । न कदाचिदर्थहरणं श्रीकरणे काव्यकरणे वा ॥
(PJLS, no. 64)

5 AM, p. 2.

authorship of literary compositions coming from the pen of their proteges. Is such a doubt, then, not justified about Vastupāla's authorship of literary works attributed to him? Doubts in such cases cannot be completely resolved, as it is a matter of interpreting evidence. But one thing is, however, certain that there is nothing inherently incompatible in a statesman and administrator being also a literary writer. The case of Disraeli is well-known. But we need not go to foreign countries for examples. The literary history of Gujarāt as well as that of other parts of India suplies us with many such cases. Some of them may be mentioned here. Viśākhadatta, the famous author of the Mudrārākṣasa (5th century A. D.), was the son of Mahārāja Bhāskaradatta and grandson of Sāmanta Vateśvaradatta, and belonged to a family of the ruling class under the Imperial Guptas. Vatsarāja, the author of six Rūpakas (the Karpūracarita Bhāṇa etc. published in the Gaekawad's Oriental Series under the title Rūpakaṣaṭkam), was a minister of Paramardideva, and his son Trailokyavarmadeva of Kālanjara, who flourished in the 13th century. Śrīcandrasūri, the author of the Prākrit work Munisuvratacarita (1137 A. D.), was a minister of Lāṭadeśa before he joined the ascetic order; and this fact has been mentioned by his brother Lakṣmaṇa Gaṇi, the celebrated author of the Supāsanāhacariya (1143 A. D.) at the end of his work. The names of the great Vedic commentator Sāyaṇa and his brother Mādhava (14th century), who were ministers at the court of Vijayanagar, are well-known. They were great scholars as well as patrons of learning and their work is too well-known to require any introduction. It was a tradition in ancient and mediaeval India that the persons of eminent positions were also the cultural leaders of their times, and it was their highest ambition after doing their life's work to die in religious meditation, having renounced the worldly ties, just as our Vastupāla had tried to do. So, as pointed out earlier, on grounds of supposed incompatibility we are not justified in having doubts about Vastupāla's authorship of the works attributed to him, unless, as in other cases, there is some positive evidence, circumstantial or direct, which justifies us in raising such doubts.[1]

1 While taking into consideration the cultural traditions of Gurjaradeśa, one has to think of several other historical facts also, which are characteristic of the province. We have already seen that in addition to the Brāhmins, who were wedded to learning by their birth and profession, there was a cultured section of the Prāgvāṭa and Śrīmālī communities in Gujarāt which had inherited the literary traditions of Śrīmāla; and thus it can be said that Vastupāla, who combined in himself the arts of statesmanship and government as well as the art of literature was only continuing the tradition of his own community. Both these communities–Prāgvāṭas and Śrīmālīs have produced not only merchants, but great administrators, generals, builders of monuments, scholars as well as poets. To take only a few examples–Śrīpāla, his son Sidhhapāla and grandson Vijayapāla (vide para 28 –29) were Prāgvāṭas. Durlabharāja, the poet-minister of Kumārapāla, who began Sāmudrikatilaka, a work on astrology, in 1160 A. D., was a Prāgvāṭa (JSI, pp. 277 f.). The rhetorician Vāgbhaṭa (para 30), and Ās-

CHAPTER V

LITERARY CIRCLE OF MAHĀMĀTYA VASTUPĀLA

67. After making a study of the life and works of Vastupāla we now come to the known figures of his literary circle. From the available biographical data about these persons we shall see how they came in contact with Vastupāla and how they entertained him with their poetic compositons, and in what way the patron appreciated their work. We shall also see how some of them composed poems to express their admiration for him, and also how some works were written on particular subjects in response to requests from the patron. We shall find, moreover, how those poets and scholars were having contact among themselves, and how they appreciated, helped and sometimes rivalled each other. That these persens really formed a circle, and were not merely casual visitors, will be clearly seen. But here a question might naturally arise about the propriety of describing these writers as forming the literary circle of Vastupāla, and not of the Royal court of the Vāghelās. There is no doubt that these poets and scholars came to the Vāghelā court, and sometimes received gifts from the king, as in the case of Harihara and Nānāka and Arisiṁha (para 81, 87, 96); but it is clear from the evidence, which will be presented here that these writers cared to bestow praise on the Vāghelā kings only rarely, which indicates that all of them were dependent upon Vastupāla, and it was mainly through him that their literary efforts flourished. And hence we are justified in calling these writers as the literary circle of Vastupāla. A study of the activity of this circle throws a flood of light on the cultural life of the times of Vastupāla and also it is very important for understanding the literary and scholastic traditions of mediaeval Gujarāt. We shall take these literary figures one by one.

---

ada, the commentator of the Meghadūta and author of two Prakaraṇas in Prākrit, viz. the Upadeśakandalī and Vivekamañjarī, were Śrīmālis (Peterson, Report I, p. 56; Report III, pp. 12 and 100). Jagaddeva, who was given the Biruda or laudatory title of Bālakavi by Hemacandra, was the son of a minister and a Śrīmālī (Peterson, Report III, pp. 96 f.). Coming to comparatively later times, we may refer to Śrīmālī minister Maṇḍana (about 1450 A. D.) of Māṇḍu in Mālvā, who was a great patron of learning and himself a Sanskrit author of no poor merit (JSI, pp. 476 ff.). Several other Vaṇik communities of Gujarāt like Dharkaṭa, Moḍha and Vāyaḍā also have given their contribution to Sanskrit literature. To take only one instance for each—Yaśaścandra, the author of the Mudritakumudacandra Prakaraṇa (p. 11 n.), was a Dharkaṭa, and Yaśaḥpāla, the author of the Moharājaparājaya (para 32), was a Moḍha. Minister Padma, who is credited with the composition of several hymns (para 105), was a Vāyaḍā. There are many more authors, who deserve mention, but these few instances would suffice to show how both Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī received equal devotion from the statesmen and merchant-princes of Gujarāt.

(i) Somes'vara

यस्यास्ते मुखपङ्कजे मुखमृचां वेदः स्मृतीर्वेद यश्चेता सद्मनि यस्य यस्य रसना सूते च सूक्तामृतम् ।
राजानः श्रियमर्जयन्ति महतीं यत्पूजया गुर्जराः कर्तुं तस्य गुणस्तुतिं जगति कः सोमेश्वरस्येश्वरः ॥

–Vastupāla[1]

68. Someśvara or Someśvaradeva was a close friend of Vastupāla and chief among the poets patronized by him. He was hereditary priest of the Caulukya kings of Gujarāt, and wielded great influence at the courts of Aṇahilavāḍ and Dhavalakka. When Vastupāla and Tejapāla came to Dhavalakka, on their way back from a pilgrimage to Śatruñjaya, they met Someśvara (para 47), and in a short time they became such fast friends that Someśvara introduced them to king Vīradhavala. It was probably after this that appreciating the capacities of the two brothers, Vīradhavala borrowed their services from Bhīmadeva II. So it is quite likely that Vastupāla and Someśvara knew each other at least some time before 1220 A. D., the date of beginning of Vastupāla's ministry. And I may hazard a guess here that their acquaintance may have been earlier. Someśvara, who was the hereditary Purohita of the Caulukyas, may have met Vastupāla at Aṇahilavāḍ previously. The impression that these two remarkable men created upon each other may have developed at Dhavalakka into an admiring friendship, which might be regarded as the real fountain-head of this last political and cultural revival of Hindu Gujarāt.

Somes'vara and his ancestors

69. Unlike so many other authors in Sanskrit literature, Someśvara has given a good deal of information not only about himself, but also about his ancestors. In the last canto of his Surathotsava Mahākāvya, called the Kavi-Praśasti-Varṇana, he has given brief life-sketches of ten of his ancestors, and also supplied important autobiographical details. It would be useful for our purpose to have a glance at the summary of that part of the canto. There Someśvara says—"There is a city of Brāhmins called Nagara,[2] where the prescribed rituals are strictly adhered to, and where the Kali was unable to enter, as it was purified by the three sacred fires-viz. Gārhapatya, Āhavanīya and Dakṣiṇa. Really speaking, it is a great place of pilgrimage. There all the people recited Vedas, and even a child was not impure. It was fancied that attracted by the beauty and purity of the place, Gods abandoned the heaven and incarnating themselves as Brāhmins, resided there. In that city among the Brāhmins of the Vaśiṣṭha Gotra there was a family bearing the surname Gulecā.[3] In that family a great Brāhmin called Solaśarman was born, who satisfied his ancestors with the Soma juice in the sacrifices performed by him, and also by doing the Śrādhha ceremony at Prayāga. He was

1 Quoted in UR, I. 8.

2 A shortened form of Vaḍnagara (ancient Ānandapura) in North Gujarāt, from which the Vaḍnagarā Nāgar Brāhmins of Gujarāt get their name.

3 Among the present-day Nāgaras, the Gulecā gotra is mentioned at the time of the Gotroccāra at the good-bye ceremony after the marriage; vide Dhruva, Digdarśana (Guj.), p. 18n.

made Purohita by Mūlarāja, the lord of the Gurjara land, and consequently he attained fame among the Caulukyas, just as Vaśiṣṭha in the solar dynasty. Even in this Kali age he performed the Vājapeya sacrifice according to proper rituals. How far shall I describe his good deeds? It is enough to say that he used to recite the Ṛgveda, had performed a number of sacrifices, gave food to the hungry, and controlled his senses. His son was Lallaśarman, who was the Purohita of Cāmuṇḍarāja, Mūlarāja's son. The son of Lallaśarman was Muñja, who became the priest of Durlabharāja. Under his priesthood, nothing in this world was unattainable for Durlabharāja. His Son was Soma,[1] by whose favour the kings attained victory everywhere. Soma's son was Āmaśarman, who performed six forms of the Jyotiṣṭoma sacrifices and bore sacrificial title of Samrāṭ.[2] He was the Purohita of king Karṇa, the father of Sidhharāja. The wealth he received from the Caulukya kings, he spent in building the shrines of Śiva, digging ponds, beautiful with lotuses, and giving donations to the poor. Once Karṇa had invaded the kingdom of Dhārā. Realising that the Mālava army was being defeated in the combat, the Purohit of Dhārā produced a Kṛtyā or demoness. But Āmaśarman not only protected his king by the power of his Mantras, but defeated the Kṛtyā, who disappeared after destroying her creator. The son of Āmaśarman was Kumāra, who was the Purohita of Sidhharāja. By the power of his

1 This must be the same Soma or Someśvara, who was instrumental in getting admission to Aṇahilavaḍ for the Suvihita Jains monks (vide supra para 37).

2 It is noteworthy that in mediaeval Gujarāt not only Vedic sacrifices were performed, but they were popular. The tradition continued, at least, upto the beginning of the 14th century A. D., when the Muslims captured Aṇahilavāḍ. Caṇḍu Paṇḍita (1297 A. D.), the celebrated commentator of the Naiṣadhīyacarita and an inhabitant of Dhavalakka, had performed several Vedic sacrifices like Dvādaśāha and Agnicayana. By performing the Vājapeya and Bṛhaspatisava sacrifices he got the titles of Samrāṭ and Sthapati, respectively—

यो वाजपेययजनेन बभूव सम्राट् कृत्वा बृहस्पतिसवं स्थपतित्वमाप ।
यो द्वादशाहय(ज)नेऽग्निचिदप्यभूत् सः श्रीचण्डुपण्डित इमां वितताम टीकाम् ॥

He also performed a number of Somasatras. Caṇḍu is the only commentator of Sanskrit poems, who often quotes the Śrauta Sūtras (Handiqui, Naiṣadhīyacarita, trans., intro., p. 3). This shows how Vedic learning flourished in Gujarāt especially among the Brāhmins from Vaḍnagar, Aṇahilavāḍ and Dhavalakka. Dhavalakka, which was the place of Vastupāla's activity became the second capital of Gujarāt not only from political but also from cultural point of view. It would be interesting to mention in this respect that the Tattvopaplavasiṁha of Jayarāśi Bhaṭṭa (circa 7th–8th century), a unique work on the Lokāyata philosophy, was copied down at Dhavalakka in the year 1293 A. D. This shows that dialectics was a highly prized subject in that city during the reign of the Vāghelās, and even study of the tenets of an almost forgotten school of philosophy like that of Cārvāka was not neglected (R. C. Parikh, Tattvopaplavasiṁha, intro., pp. 1 f.).

blessings Sidhharāja captured the lord of Sindhudeśa, put into prison the powerful king of Mālvā with his harem, and taught the haughty chief of Sapādalakṣa how to bow down his head. This Purohita of the Cakravartin performed many sacrifices and dug hundreds of ponds. Kumāra's son was Sarvadeva, who was highly proficient in the Manusmṛti. Following the tradition of his ancestors, he performed sacrifices, and satisfied the people by giving donations, but never stretched his own hand to receive them. Sarvadeva's son was Āmiga, who was a Vedic scholar. To him, who liked to do good deeds, only two things were shameful–viz. to hear his praise from the superiors and living in this prison-house of the worldly existence. He had four sons like the four Vedas of the Brahman or creator. Eldest among them was Sarvadeva, who was a great scholar. Names of other three were Kumāra, Muñja, and Āhaḍa. Sarvadeva immersed the remains of king Kumārapāla in the sacred Ganges, and satisfied the Brāhmins of Gayā and Prayāga by giving them donations. He sunk tanks in various places, worshipped Śiva everyday, welcomed every Brāhmin, and consequently, he was praised in every house. His brother, Kumāra, was free from greed. One day, at the time of the solar eclipse, the king of Gujarāt, who was Kumārapāla's son,[1] offered him many jewels, but he did not accept them, though pressed by the donor. By worshipping the S'iva-god called Kaṭukeśvara, he healed the fatal wounds of Ajayapāla, which the later had received in a battle. At a time of famine, when the people had become emaciated like skeletons, he prevailed upon king Mūlrāja II to remit the taxes. Pratāpamalla of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa clan had made him his counsellor. Once the Caulukya king appointed him as the commander, and by defeating the enemies he proved himself worthy of choice. Once Kumāra fought with king Vindhya, the grandson of Yośovarman, the lord of Dhārā. Not only did he drive away Vindhya, but having devastated his city called Gogasthāna, dug a well on the site of his palace. He got great wealth from the land of Mālvā, and gave it away when he went to Gayā for a S'rādhha ceremony. Kumāra defeated the invincible army of the lord of the Mlechhas near a place named Rājñisara or Rāṇisara, and satisfied the manes by performing the rites with the waters of the holy Ganges. He was proficient in the six Karmans of the Brāhmin, and always uttered the sacred syllables–भूर्भुव: स्व:. He had shown his proficiency in the S'āstras when performing sacrifices, and that in S'astra or arms when fighting in the battles. He always bore the Brahmasūtra or sacred thread on his body, and Rājyasūtra in his heart, that is, he incessantly thought about the welfare of the state and the king. Kumāra had an obedient wife named Lakṣmī, who was beautiful like the goddess Lakṣmī. She gave birth to three sons–Mahādeva, Someśvaradeva and Vijaya".[2]

---

1 As Kumārapāla had no son, we take the word 'son' (Kumārapālasya sutena rājñā–v. 31) to mean his 'successor'. We are totally justified in this interpreation, because just after this, Ajayapāla, the successor of Kumārpāla, is expressly mentioned by his name (v. 32).

2 SU, XV. 1–43.

70. Thus Someśvara was the son of Kumāra and Lakṣmī. He had two brothers, one elder and the other younger, named Mahādeva and Vijaya respectively. He has given the history of his ancestors ranging over a long period of about 250 years from the days of Mūlarāja. It is evident from this account that Someśvara was born in one of the most eminent, learned and wealthy Brāhmin families of Gujarāt. That family hailed from Vaḍnagar. In addition to doing the work of the high priest of the king, some members of the family, like Someśvara's father Kumāra, could fight and command an army successfully. We can say, on the authority of the Amamacaritra of Municandrasūri (1199 A. D.) that the same gentleman was the chief accountant of Gujarāt (Nṛpākṣapaṭalādhyakṣa) for some time and that he had revised and corrected the said work at the author's request. This would not appear strange when we look to the manifold duties of the Rājapurohita in ancient India, who was not only an expert in the Śāstras, but also proficient in the Daṇḍanīti or politics, and sometimes had to look after the civil and military administration. We have seen above that Vedic learning and rituals were highly prized things among the ancestors of Someśvara, and some of them were, no doubt, great scholars. But it may he remarked here that though Someśvara has given many interesting details about his ancestors, he has said nothing about their literary works, if they wrote any.

Literary works of Somes'vara

71. After eulogizing his ancestors, Someśvara has mentioned a few facts about himself in the Surathotsava. He says how contemporary poets like Harihara and Subhaṭa appreciated his poetry.[1] By composing a work full of poetic merits, and a play, within only half of a Yāma (one and a half hour), he had highly entertained the members of the court of Bhīmadeva.[2] After praising his own poetry, and also the poetry and munificence of Vastupāla in a number of verses (vv. 48–66), he closes the canto, which shows that the author and the patron were fast friends before the composition of the Surathotsava.

72. In addition to the Surathotsava, based on the Devīmāhātmya in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, the poet has composed other works. The Kīrtikaumudī Mahākāvya is a panegyric of the glorious deeds of Vastupāla and is very important for the study of contemporary history and society. He wrote a play–Ullāgharāghava,[3] dramatizing the Rāmāyaṇa story. It was acted in

---

1 श्रीसोमेश्वरदेवकवेरवेत्य लोकम्पृणं गुणग्रामम् । हरिहरसुभटप्रभृतिभिरभिहितमेवं कविप्रवरैः ॥
× × × × ×
वाग्देवतावसन्तस्य कवेः श्रीसोमशर्मणः । धुनोति विबुधान् सूक्तिः साहित्याम्भोनिधेः सुधा ॥
तव वक्त्रं शतपत्रं सद्वर्णं सर्वशास्त्रसंपूर्णम् ॥ अवतु निजं पुस्तकमिव सोमेश्वरदेव वाग्देवी ॥
–Ibid, XV. 44 and 46–47.

2 काव्येन नव्यपदपाकरसास्पदेन यामार्धमात्रघटितेन च नाटकेन ।
श्रीभीमभूमिपतिसंसदि सभ्यलोकमस्तोकसंमदवशंवदमादधे यः ॥ —Ibid, XV. 49.

3 अस्त्येव वशिष्ठान्वयसंभूतेश्चौलुक्यचक्रवर्त्तिवन्दितचरणारविन्दस्य श्रीसोमेश्वरदेवस्य कृतिर्नवमुल्लाघराघवं नाम नाटकम् ।–UR, prologue.

the famous temple at Dvārakā on the Prabodhinī Ekādaśī.[1] We cannot say with certainty whether the play with which Someśvara entertained the assembly of Bhīmadeva II was this Ullāgharāghava. The Ullāgharāghava, as we know from the play, was written at the request of the poet's son Bhallaśarman,[2] and was performed at Dvārakā, as already pointed out. But this, however, does not exclude the possibility of the Ullāgharāghava being identical with the play mentioned in the last canto of the Surathotsava.

73. In addition to these, Someśvara has composed an anthology of didactic verses called the Karṇāmṛtaprapā.[3] No scholar has taken any notice of the work uptil now. Rāmaśataka, a hymn to Rāma in one hundred verses, is also a work of Someśvara,[4] and was once very popular, judging from the number of manuscripts of the poem and of its two commentaries- one by Ekanātha and the other by some unknown author.[5] The Ābu Praśasti[6] of Someśvara bears the date of 1287 V. S. (1231 A. D.), the year of installation of the image of Neminātha in the temple. The metrical portion in two, out of several, Girnār inscriptions of Vastupāla are from the pen of Someśvara.[7] His Vaidyanātha Praśasti, commemorating the reparation of the Vaidyanātha temple at Darbhāvatī,[8] by king Vīsaladeva, bears the date of V. S. 1311 (1255 A. D.), which shows that Someśvara lived at least for 16 years after the death of Vastupāla. The Vaidyanātha Praśasti seems to be his last composition. One more Praśasti was written by Someśvara, but no trace of it is available to-day. That was the Praśasti of the Vīranārāyaṇa Prāsāda, built by king Vīradhavala at Dhavalakka. It contained 108 verses.[9] It can be inferred from the name of the monument that it was a temple of Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu. No remains of this temple nor any other building of Vastupāla have survived at modern Dholkā. From his numerous composions on various subjects, it appears that Someśvara was a man of liberal outlook. Though he was a devout śaiva and śākta and

---

1 तदस्य भगवतः श्रीद्वारिकालङ्कारनीलमणेः श्रीकृष्णदेवस्य पुरतः श्रीप्रबोधैकादशीपर्वणि सर्वदिगागतानां सामाजिकजनानां जनकसुतापतिचरिताभिनयदानेन कृतार्थयामि संसारकदर्थितमात्मानम् ।
—Ibid, prologue.

2 तदङ्गजः स्वाङ्गजभल्लशर्मप्रयुक्तया प्रार्थनया प्रणुन्नः । चकार सोमेश्वरदेवनामा रामायणं नाटकरूपमेतत् ॥
-Ibid, last verse.

3 कष्टा नष्टापि निर्विश्य रसांस्तेष्वपि नीरसः । श्रीकुमारसुतो ब्रूते पिपासुर्नवमं रसम् ॥ —Karṇāmṛtaprapā, v. 4.
संसारस्थलदुःस्थानां प्राणिनां प्रीतिहेतवे । श्रीसोमेश्वरदेवेन कृता कर्णामृतप्रपा ॥ -Ibid, v. 217.

4 विश्वम्भरामण्डलमण्डनस्य श्रीरामभद्रस्य यशःप्रशस्तिम् ।
चकार सोमेश्वरदेवनामा यामार्धनिष्पन्नमहाप्रबन्धः ॥ —Rāmaśataka, v. 101.

5 Five manuscripts of the Rāmaśataka are preserved in the Government collection deposited at the Bhandarkar Institute, Poona. A manuscript of the commentary by the anonymous writer was got by me from the collection of Muni Śrī Puṇyavijayaji.

6 PJLS, no. 65; HIG, no. 206.

7 PJLS, nos. 38-1 and 40-3; HIG, nos. 207, and 209; PLM, nos. 168 and 170.

8 EI, Vol. I, pp. 20ff.; HIG, no. 215.

9 PK, p. 59.

an adept in the Vedas, he wrote not only poems and plays praising Rāma, but also Praśastis for the Jaina temples.

This Somes'vara is different from the author of the Kāvyādars'a.

74. Some scholars have tried to identify our Someśvara with the author of a commentary on the Kāvyaprakāśa, known as the Kāvyādarśa, whose name was also Someśvara.[1] But the identification is not correct, as the author of the Kāvyādarśa was the son of Devaka of the Bhāradvāja Gotra,[2] while our Someśvara was the son of Kumāra of the Vasiṣṭha Gotra. And hence the two authors are different.

Chronology of Somes'vara's works

75. No work of Someśvara, except his inscriptions, bears any date. But the upper or lower limit of at least some of those works can be decided on the basis of internal evidence. A comparison of the Surathotsava and the Kīrtikaumudī reveals a great difference between the style of these two poems. In the former, the style appears to be more or less of the Gauḍī type, forced and obscure, and full of tiresome puns, while the style of the latter is of the Vaidarbhī type, marked by perspicuity, and makes one believe that here the model was that of Kālidāsa. One cannot with certainty view this difference of style as a criterion of priority in time, but it tempts one to believe that probably the work of the Gauḍī style may have been earlier. This surmise is further corroborated by the subject-matter of the two poems. The Surathotsava is more or less an allegory of the political misfortunes of Bhīmadeva II and the re-establishment of his power at Aṇahilavāḍ. We know from a grant dated 1224 A. D., that by that time one Jayantasiṁha had usurped the throne of Aṇahilavāḍ (para 48). Naturally, Bhīma had to take refuge somewhere, and he could regain his lost kingdom in 1225 or 1226-in any case, before 1227 A. D. (GMRI, Vol. II, p. 359) through the faithful services of Lavaṇaprasāda and his son. The Surathotsava also describes similar misfortunes of, and regaining of power by a mythical king Suratha (para 169–71), and it is quite probable that Somes'vara may have chosen the story of Suratha as the theme of his poem on account of its striking similarity with contemporary events, and that he may have written the work to commemorate the re-establishment of Bhīmadeva's power, sometime about 1227 A. D. The Kīrtikaumudī (IX. 31) narrates the events of Vastupāla's life, including the temples that he built at Śatruñjaya, and on the reasons adduced by Kathavate (KK, intro., p. 17) it was composed after 1232 A. D. Nothing definite can be said about the dates of the Karṇāmṛtaprapā and the Rāmaśataka, though on the basis of stylistic improvements, I would like to consider both of them as later than the Sarathotsava.

1 Peterson, Report V; p. 84; CC, Vol. I, pp. 102 and 737. Also vide SU, intro, p. 16.

2 भरद्वाजकुलोत्तंसभट्टदेवकसूनुना । सोमेश्वरेण रचितः काव्यादर्शः सुमेधसा ॥ (JBC, intro., p. 62 n.) This Someśvara must have livd in or before the 12th century A. D., as the manuscript of his work in the Jesalmer Bhāṇḍār is dated 1213 V. S. = 1227 A. D. (Ibid, p. 43).

Stray verses of Somes'vara

76. The Prabandhas give a number of references and anecdotes which bear upon Somśvara's relation with Vastupāla. All these cannot be taken at their face-value, but a critical examination of them reveals that they are based upon historical facts I have been able to gather a number of such references, out of which some important and interesting ones may be mentioned here:

Once in rainy season Vastupāla and Someśvara had been to the port of Stambhatīrtha. At that time horses imported from some foreign country[1] were being brought down from the ships. Vastupāla looked at the horses and gave the following Samasyā to Someśvara–

प्रावृट्काले पयोराशिः कथं गर्जितवर्जितः ।

to which Somes'vara gave a swift answer as follows–

अंतःसुप्तजगन्नाथनिद्राभङ्गभयादिव ॥

And he was promptly rewarded with a gift of 16 horses.[2]

On one occasion the members of the literary circle had assembled. Vastupāla and Tejapāla were also present. A Samasyā was given–काकः किं वा क्रमेलकः । Someśvara promptly composed a couplet and the seemingly irrelevant words of the Samasyā became full of meaning–

येनागच्छन्ममाख्यातो येनानीतश्च मे पतिः । प्रथमः सखि कः पूज्यः काकः किं वा क्रमेलकः ॥

Highly pleased at this gift of ready poetry, Vastupāla gave Someśvara a present of 16 thousand drammas.[3]

Once when Someśvara came to Vastupāla's mansion he was given a seat, which he did not occupy. When asked the reason for this, he uttered the following verse–

अन्नदानैः पयःपानैर्धर्मस्थानैश्च भूतलम् । यशसा वस्तुपालेन रुद्धमाकाशमण्डलम् ॥

Having heard this the minister gave nine thousand drammas.[4]

During one of his Saṁghayātrās to Śatruñjaya, the minister was worshipping the Jina, when the supplicants ran towards him all at a time. Looking to the crowd Someśvara spoke the following verse–

इच्छासिद्धिसमुन्नते सुरगणे कल्पद्रुमैः स्थीयते पाताले पवमानभोजनजने कष्टं प्रणष्टो बलिः ।
नीरागानगमन्मुनीन् सुरमयश्चिन्तामणिः क्वाप्यगात् तस्मादर्थिकदर्थनां विषहतां श्रीवस्तुपालः क्षितौ ॥

The Prabandhas say that for this he received a large sum as a gift.[5]

When Vastupāla returned from the campaign in which he defeated Śaṁkha, he was received by Someśvara with the following śloka—

---

1 It is well-known that high-breed horses were imported in India from foreign countries like Arabia (BP, Vol. XC, pp. 195 f). There were settlements of Arab merchants in the coastal cities. Sadik or Said was probably a wealthy and influential one among them (vide supra para 59).

2 PK, p. 121; VC, VII. 377–84.

3 Ibid.

4 PC, p. 104; UT, p. 76.

5 PK, p. 116; UT, p. 74.

श्रीवस्तुपाल प्रतिपक्षकाल त्वया प्रपेदे पुरुषोत्तमत्वम्।
तीरेऽपि वार्द्धेरकृतेऽपि मात्स्ये दूरं पराजीयत येन शङ्खः॥[1]

77. In addition to these specimens, the Prabandhas have quoted a number of stray extempore verses spoken by Someśvara on particular occasions. His praise of Tejapāla when the latter returned after defeating Ghūghula,[2] beautiful description of the Lalitāsara, a lake built by Vastupāla at Pālitāṇā and named after his wife,[3] laudatory verses for Vastupāla during the Saṁghayātrā on Śatruñjaya,[4] verses in praise of Vīradhavala when he held durbar after a victory–[5] these are some of the illustrations in point. The Sūktimuktāvali of Jahlaṇa contains four verses[6] of Someśvaradeva. Now, we know that there were more than one poets of this name,[7] and one is not quite sure whether the author of these verses is our Someśvara. But considering the fact that the Sūktimuktāvali contains verses of several other Sanskrit poets from Gujarāt–like Hemacandra, Somaprabha, S'rīpāla, Vastupāla, Vāgbhaṭa, Vijayapāla, Prahlādana, Durlabharāja, Devabodhi or Devabodha,[8] Kumudacandra, Arasī Ṭhakkura or Arisiṁha and also two verses ascribed to Jayasiṁha Sidhharāja, the famous king of Aṇahilavāḍ, it is quite possible that the said Someśvaradeva is none other than our author. The probability becomes stronger when we know that our author prefers to mention himself as Someśvaradeva, just as the compiler of the Sūktimuktāvali has done. Moreover, the Sūktimuktāvali quotes two verses from the Vaidyanāthapraśasti,[9] which is definitely a work of Somes'vara. The anthologies seldom quote from inscriptions, and the fact that the Vaidyanāthapras'asti is quoted that way shows that it was considered a composition of high literary merit.[10] It is interesting to note that a verse

1 PPS, p. 74.

2 PPS, p. 69; VC, III. 428–33.

3 Ibid, p. 72; also PC, p. 102; VC, VI. 512; UT, p. 79.

4 VC, VI. 83; UT, p. 75.

5 VC, III. 464–68.

6 इन्द्राभ्यर्थनया०, यथावद्वादनात्०, वनभुवि०, वाचं यस्तरस०.

7 Krishnamachariar, Classical Sanskrit Literature, pp. 1108–9.

8 The Prabhāvakacarita (ch. 21) says that Devabodha had come to Aṇahilavāḍ during the reign of Sidhharāja and had come in contact with the poet Śrīpāla. He is said to be an Ācārya of the Bhāgavata sect. Both Devabodha and Śrīpāla were favourites of Sidhharāja, though their relations were anything but friendly (R. C. Parikh, Kāvyānuśāsana, intro., pp. 255 ff.).

9 सिन्दूरं सीमन्तात्० and यचैतत्क्षयवह्नि०. As the text of the Praśasti has been found in a very fragmentary form owing to the delapidated state of the slab bearing the inscription, it has not been possible to trace out these verses.

10 Another inscription quoted in the Sūktimuktāvali is the Somanāthapraśasti, evidenty an inscription from Gujarāt (सन्ध्याताण्डव० etc.). As the verse is not found in any of the extant inscriptions connected with the famous Somanātha temple, it may belong to some earlier Praśasti of the same shrine, which was repaired more than once.

from the Kīrtikaumudī (VII. 79. निगदितुं विधिनापि०) has found place in the Vasanta Vilāsa, an old Gujarātī Phāgu of the 15th century A. D.

Somes'vara abandoned the Vyāsavidyā after the death of Vastupāla

78. Somes'vara's verses in praise of Vastupāla, referred to above, reveal the respect and admiration of a friend. Vastupāla has also paid tribute to the scholarship, poetic merits and high position of Somes'vara in equally glowing terms (in the verse quoted in the beginning of the para 68). According to the Prabandhas, it was Somes'vara who had saved Vastupāla twice from the wrath of king Vīsaladeva (vide supra para 54). When Vīsaladeva was harassing Vastupāla and Tejapāla, inspite of their previous obligations on him, Somes'vara readily composed a verse suggesting the ruler's ingratitude, and the king was ashamed.[1] The Prabandha notes that after the death of Vastupāla, Somes'vara abandoned the Vyāsavidyā to mark his deep sense of bereavement at the loss of his great friend, and refused to recite the Pūrāṇas, though pressed by the king. And the king appointed another man named Gaṇapati Vyāsa to do the work.[2] There seems to be truth in the tradition as we find Gaṇapati Vyāsa as the writer of the second Pras'asti of Nānāka in 1272 A. D., in which he mentions himself as the author of a work called Dhārādhvaṁsa, commemorating Vīsaladeva's victory over Mālvā.[3] It is clear that Gaṇapati Vyāsa had become the court-poet of Vīsaladeva.

79. We do not know the date of Somes'vara's death, just as we do not get his birth-date. He was living at least upto 1255 A. D., the date of the Vaidyanāthapras'asti.

(ii) Harihara

मुधा मधु मुधा सीधु मुधा कोऽपि सुधारसः। आस्वादितं मनोहारि यदि हारिहरं वचः ॥
—Vastupāla[4]

स्ववाक्पाकेन यो वाचां पाकं शास्त्यपरान् कवीन्। कथं हरिहरः सोऽभूत् कवीनां पाकशासनः ॥
—Someśvara[5]

80. Harihara appears to be one of the prominent literary figures of the time, as Rājaśekhara has devoted one whole Prabandha to him in the Prabandhakośa, and Vastupāla also held his poetry in high esteem. According to the Prabandhakośa,[6] Harihara was a descendent of Śrīharṣa, author of the famous Naiṣadhīyacarita (circa 1174 A. D.)[7], one of the most formidable, yet poetic compositions in Sanskrit literature. It was Harihara who had brought the first manuscript of the Naiṣadha to Gujarāt and it was at the

1 PK, p. 126; VC, III. 332; VTK, p. 80.
2 PPS, p. 80.
3 HIG, no. 219, v. 18.
4 Quoted in PK, p. 58.
5 KK, I. 25.
6 PK, pp. 58 ff.
7 Paṇḍita Śivadatta, Naiṣadhīyacarita, intro., pp. 9–13; Krishnamachariar, Classical Sanskrit Literature, pp. 177–78.

initiative of Vastupāla that the work got a wide currency in the province, as a result of which the oldest commentaries of the work were written solely in Gujarāt.

Traditional account of Harihara

81. The Prabandha says that Harihara was a rich man, and came to Gujarāt with a caravan of 50 camels, 200 horses and 500 men from the Gauḍa country. While on the way, he gave food to the hungry with a liberal hand. When he came to the outskirts of Dhavalakka he sent a man to the court to carry intimation of his arrival, and convey his blessings to Vīradhavala, Vastupāla and Someśvara. Vastupāla and Vīradhavala were glad that such a scholar had come to their land and decided to receive him next day in a public procession. But Someśvara became jealous, and did not show enough courtesy even to speak with the messenger. Next day, Harihara was received with great honour by the king and the minister and was lodged in a mansion. Since then, everyday, Harihara used to come to the court, where literary discussions were carried on. Once Vīradhavala asked Harihara to examine the poetic merits of 108 verses of the Praśasti of the Vīranārāyaṇa Prāsāda built by him. The Praśasti was a composition of Someśvara, and Harihara, who was angry at the apparent jealousy of the court-poet, said—"I have seen all these verses in the shrine called the Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa Prāsāda, built by Bhojadeva in Ujjayinī. If you are not convinced of the truth of my statement, hear me; I recite all the verses one by one." And he recited all the verses in due order. Vīradhavala and Vastupāla became sorry, and Somes'vara who was thus charged with plagiarism became so much ashamed that he was not able even to show his face. Sometime after, Somes'vara went to Vastupāla and told how wrongly he was made a butt of ridicule. Vastupāla advised him to befriend Harihara, and both of them went to Harihara's house. Somes'vara requested Harihara to absolve him from the wrong charge of plagiarism; and Harihara accepted to do so. Next day in the court, Harihara said that the goddess Sarasvatī was pleased with him, and that he could recite 108 verses of any description if he had heard them only once, and gave the example of the verses of Somes'vara's Pras'asti, which he had recited that way. To convince the king and the courtiers about the veracity of his statement Harihara did show again several such intellectual feats there and then. Vīradhavala asked Harihara-"if such was the case, why did you accuse Somes'vara of plagiarism?" Harihara replied that he had done so because Somes'vara had insulted him. But after all, the matters had become clear and both the literary men became friends through the intervention of Vīradhavala, and Somes'vara's literary career was shown to be spotless. After that the literary discussions in the court became more lively, and at times Harihara used to recite verses from the Naiṣadha. The Naiṣadha which was composed about 1174 A. D., was not known in Gujarāt by the time of Vastupāla, and all became astonished by the poetic merits of the work which was also full of scholarship. Once, when questioned by Vastupāla, Harihara said that the verses were from the poem Naiṣadha and

that Śrīharṣa was its author. Vastupāla asked for the manuscript of the work, and Harihara lent it only for one night, as it was very rare. Vastupāla got it copied down during the night, and put it in his own library after binding it with old strings and making it dusty by strewing scented powders over it. When Harihara came next morning to get his book back the minister spoke, "I remember that I have got this work in my library." He told his men to bring the book and the new copy of the manuscript was found out after some delay and shown to Harihara. Harihara was astonished, and said, "This is your strategy. None else is clever enough to do this. You have punished the enemies in a fitting manner, established the influence of Jaina, Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva religions, and put the dynasty of your master on the path of glory.[1]

Study and circulation of the Naiṣadha in Gujarāt

82. We cannot be sure whether the above account given in the Prabandhakośa is quite accurate in its details. According to Bühler[2] and others, the Jaina Prabandhas are composed on the basis of historical traditions preserved and transmitted through the Vṛddhaparaṁparā or through a line of teachers, and there is every probability that the account as a whole may be correct. It also throws some light on the atmosphere of the courts, where a number of poets and scholars gathered together, and competed with each other for royal or ministerial favour. There is no reason to doubt that the first manuscript of the Naiṣadha was brought by Harihara, and that Vastupāla was instrumental in the circulation of that work in the literary world of Gujarāt, because the oldest manuscripts of it are available only in Gujarāt. Two palm-leaf manuscripts of the Naiṣadha as old as V. S. 1304 (1248 A. D.) and V. S. 1395 (1339 A. D.) are preserved in the Jaina Bhāṇḍār at Pāṭaṇ.[3] One more palm-leaf manuscript copied down in V. S. 1378 (1322 A. D.) is preserved in the Jaina Bhāṇḍār at Jesalmer[4], and there are a few other palm-leaf manuscripts without any date, at both the places.[5] It has also been shown that a copy of the Naiṣadha was put in the Bhāratī-Bhāṇḍāgāra or the library of king Vīsaladeva,[6] which may be possibly from the original manuscript in the possession of Harihara or from its copy which was procured by Vastupāla. The oldest commentaries of that celebrated poem are also from Gujarāt—one by Vidyādhara, known as the Sāhityavidyādharī, and the other by the famous Caṇḍu Paṇḍita of Dhavalakka. The commentary of Vidyādhara was composed probably during the reign of Vīsaladeva (1238–1261 A. D.), as the author has commented upon the text as it was found in the manuscript in the Royal library of Vīsaladeva.[7] The commentary of Caṇḍu Paṇḍita was written in 1353 V. S. (1297 A. D.), according to

1 PK, pp. 58 ff

2 Bühler, Life of Hemacandrācārya, p. 4.

3 PBC, pp. 64 and 113.

4 JBC, p. 14.

5 Ibid, pp. 13, 16, 17; PBC, p. 170.

6 Handiqui, op. cit., p. 9.

7 Sāndesarā, BHV, Vol. III, p. 26.

the author's own statement.[1] The wide popularity of the Naiṣadha in the scholarly world of Gujarāt within a century of its composition was mainly due to Harihara's coming to Gujarāt, and also to the scholastic activities of the literary circle patronized by Vastupāla and the Vāghelā kings like Vīradhavala and Vīsaladeva. The visit of Harihara reminds one of the visit of the poet Bihlaṇa, who had also come to Gujarāt from the far off land of Kāshmīr, and had composed a play-Karṇasundarī Nāṭikā-staying at Aṇahilavāḍ, during the reign of Karṇa, the father of Sidhharāja (para 38).

Stray verses of Harihara

83. According to Someśvara's statement in the Kīrtikaumudī, Harihara was a distinguished poet. If Harihara wrote any works they have not been discovered. A number of verses ascribed to him are found in the Prabandhas. His two verses in praise of Vīradhavala when the latter came to receive him along with Vastupāla,[2] his praise of Vastupāla when the minister gave away to the supplicants the gold obtained from a golden staff sent to Vīradhavala by a foreign king as a token of his submission,[3] and his verses on the occasion of the Saṁghayātrā of Vastupāla,[4] are particularly interesting. The Sūktimuktāvali and the Śārṁgadharapadhhati contain a number of verses in the name of Harihara, but we are not sure whether they are the compositions of our Harihara or of some other poet of that name.

84. We do not know exactly how long Harihara lived in Gujarāt, but from the account given in the Prabandha it appears that he must have stayed at Dhavalakka at least for a few years. The Prabandha says that once Harihara went to Prabhāsa to pay his homage to the god Someśvara or Somanātha. But there, because of similarity in name he was reminded of the rough behaviour of the poet Someśvara towards him, and at once burst forth into two verses, one of which runs as follows and also contains the name of its composer—

क्व यातु क्वायातु क्व वदतु समं केन पठतु क्व काव्यान्यव्याजं रचयतु सदः कस्य विशतु ।
खलव्यालग्रस्ते जगति न गतिः क्वापि कृतिनामिति ज्ञात्वा तत्त्वं हर हर विमूढो हरिहरः ॥[5]

And he gave half of his wealth to the supplicants and taking the rest with him came to Dhavalakka from where taking leave of Vīradhavala and Vastupāla went to Kāśī.[6]

---

1 Ibid.

2 शम्भुर्मानससंनिधौ०, दृष्टस्तेन शरान्० PK, p. 58.

3 आः! साम्यं न सहे० Ibid, p. 61.

4 धन्यः स वीरधवलः०, आजन्मापि वशीकृताय० VC, VI. 79-80.

5 PK, p. 61. The other verse is आरुक्षाम नृपप्रसार०. The interpretation of the verse क्व यातु० by Rājaśekhara does not appear to be historically correct, because both Someśvara and Harihara have praised the poetry of each other (KK, I. 25; SU, XV. 44), and though their acquaintance had begun with mutual jealousy, it had developed into an admiring friendship. The Prabandha, as it can be seen, has put more emphasis on the tradition of their jealousy.

6 PK, p. 61.

(iii) Nānāka

मुखे यदीये विमलं कवित्वं बुद्धौ च तत्त्वं हृदि यस्य सत्त्वम् ।
करे सदा दानमयावदानं पादे च सारस्वततीर्थयानम् ।
काव्येषु नव्येषु ददाति कर्णं प्राप्नोति यः संसदि साधुवर्णम् ।
विभूषणं यस्य सदा सुवर्णं प्राप्ते तु पात्रे न मुखं विवर्णम् ॥

—Gaṇapati Vyāsa[1]

85. Nānākabhūti or Nānāka was born in an aristocratic family of learned Brāhmins, just like Somes'vara and Harihara. He was a court poet of king Vīsaladeva, and had also come in contact with Vastupāla. He had established a Sarasvatīsadas or college of learning at Prabhāsa Pāṭaṇ, where the river Sarasvatī falls into the sea.[2] Two Pras'astis[3] recording the establishment of the college are found, and a good deal of information regarding Nānāka and his family can be obtained from them. The first Pras'asti is not dated, while the second one bears the date of 1328 V. S. (1272 A. D.), which is the eleventh year after king Vīsaladeva's death. Even in the first Pras'asti Vīsaladeva has been referred to as Tridas'asuhṛd or "the friend of Gods", which shows that he was not living. We can infer from this that Nānāka was considerably junior in age both to Vīsaladeva and Vastupāla.

Family-history of Nānāka

86. Nānāka's family was staying at Ānandapura or Nagara (modern Vaḍnagar). He was a Nāgar Brāhmin by caste, and his gotra was Kāpiṣṭhala. The Praśastis begin his genealogy from a man named Someśvara. Somes'vara was born in the village Guñjā near Vaḍnagar, which belonged to the Brāhmins of the Vaijavāpa gotra, as it was given in gift to some Brāhmin of that gotra by a Caulukya king, who was pleased with the former's ministership.[4] Somes'vara was an Ācārya and the pupils taught by him also became very learned. He had a wife named Sītā and a son named Āmaṭa, who was an expert in sacrificial rituals. Āmaṭa's wife was Sajjanī, and she bore him a son named Govinda, who was learned like God Brahman. Govinda had two wives—Lāchī and suhavā. Suhavā was so full of excellences that no efforts to praise her could do them full justice. In her company Govinda paid off three debts, and having taken ablution in the sacred Revā

1 The second Praśasti of Nānāka, vv. 14–15.

2 The site of the college of Nānāka is to be seen even to-day at Prabhāsa Pāṭaṇ, near the temple of Brahmeśvara. There, the Sarasvatī-Pūjā (ceremonial worship of Sarasvatī) is done every year on the last day of the Navarātrī festival.

3 IA, Vol. XI, pp 98 ff. Also HIG, nos. 218–19; Gadre, Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State, pp. 14 ff.

4 Though Someśvara belonged to the Kāpiṣṭhala gotra, he was born in a village belonging to the Vaijavāpa gotra; so it can be inferred that the village Guñja must be a place of his maternal grandfather. Vide R. C. Modi, Ācārya Dhruva Smāraka Grantha (Guj.), p. 386.

entered the fourth stage of life. He had three sons. The eldest among them was Puruṣottama, who was a student of the Vedas. The youngest son was named Malhaṇa, who flourished at the court of the king, being proficient in the six guṇas. He had done a pilgrimage to Kāśī, and could recite the whole of the Ṛgveda. Govinda's second son was Nānāka who was wealthy and was also a favourite of Sarasvatī. Nānāka made a deep study of the Kātantra grammar. He had a thorough grasp of the whole of the Ṛgveda, and was proficient in the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, the Purāṇas and the Smṛtis, an expert in the Kāvya, the Nāṭaka and the Alaṁkāra. He was also a poet, as the Praśasti mentions that Sarasvatī had resided on his tongue to remove her bereavement caused by the passing away of her sons in the form of ancient poets. He has been mentioned as an ornament of the Nāgar community (नानाकः नागरोत्तंसः, first Praśasti, v. 23). The name of his wife was Lakṣmī, who was a jewel of both the families. His son was Gaṁgādhara, about whose achievements the Praśasti is silent, but whom it gives blessings, which shows that he was comparatively young at the time.

Nānāka patronized by Vīsaladeva

87. Vīsaladeva bestowed great favours on Nānāka. He gave Nānāka a mansion in a locality of the Brāhmins called the Vīsalabrahmapurī built by himself at Prabhāsa and thus made him a resident of the holy place. At the time of worshipping Somanātha, Vīsaladeva had given him the town of Vagasarā (modern Bagasarā in Saurāṣṭra) as gift. Nānāka, in his turn, used to please the king by reciting the sweet texts from the Purāṇas while the king was alive, and satisfied him by doing the Śrādhha after he became 'a friend of the gods.' Vīrabhadra, the head of the shrine of Somanātha, had given Nānāka the seventh share of the revenue of the town of Maṁgala Grāma (modern Māngrol on the southern coast of Saurāṣṭra), pleased by his worship of Somanātha. Nānāka was well-known for his hospitality, and also helped his friends and relatives with a liberal hand.

Nānāka-a patron of poets

88. Thus we get sufficient information about Nānāka, his family and ancestors. His opulence and his love of learning were not the poetic exaggerations of a panegyrist, for we know that he established and maintained a college. He was wealthy enough to patronise other poets; his first Praśasti has been written by the poet Kṛṣṇa, son of Ratna and the grandson of the author of the Kuvalayāśvacarita, who was nick-named Bālasarasvatī by the people pleased by his Aṣṭāvadhāna powers, and the second one was composed by Gaṇapati Vyāsa, the author of the Dhārādhvaṁsa (para 78).

Nānāka's praise of Vastupāla

89. We do not possess any work from the pen of Nānāka, though the Praśastis speak much of his poetic achievements. An incomplete inscription from Vanthalī in Saurāṣṭra[1] seems to be a composition of Nānāka, as the author mentions himself as an inhabitant of Ānandapura, gives Kāpiṣṭhala as

1 Annals, Vol. V, p. 171; HIG, no. 225.

his gotra and mentions Govinda as his father. The last line has been inscribed only half, and thus the inscription has remained incomplete, and we do not get author's name. The date is also not known, as the first line is broken. This inscription can be considered a rare specimen of the poetry of Nānāka. The Prabandhakośa informs us that when Amaracandra entered the court of Vīsaladeva (vide para 103) his poetic faculties were tested by several poets including Nānāka.[1] Again, we get a further specimen of Nānāka's versification, which is especially noteworthy as it is indicative of his contact with Vastupāla: Once several poets were praising the generosity of Vastupāla, the minister's head hanging down in embarassed modesty. At that time the young Nānāka uttered the following verse–

एकस्त्वं भुवनोपकारक इति श्रुत्वा सतां जल्पितं लज्जानम्रशिराः स्थिरातलमिदं यद्वीक्षसे वेद्मि तत् ।
वाग्देवीवदनारविन्दतिलक श्रीवस्तुपाल ध्रुवं पातालाद् बलिमुद्दिधीर्षुरसकृन्मार्गं भवान् मार्गति ॥

And the poet was awarded precious gifts.[2]

(iv) Yas'ovīra

लक्ष्मीर्यत्र न वाक् तत्र यत्र ते विनयो न हि । यशोवीर महच्चित्रं सा च सा च स च त्वयि ॥

—Vastupāla[3]

प्रकाश्यते सतां साक्षाद् यशोवीरेण धीमता । मुखे दन्तद्युता ब्राह्मीः करे श्रीः स्वर्णमुद्रया ॥

—Someśvara[4]

Yas'ovīra-a close friend of Vastupāla

90. Yaśovīra was a close friend of Vastupāla. Someśvara has praised both these friends in a verse by describing them as "two sons of the goddess Sarasvatī."[5] Yaśovīra was a Vaṇik and professed the Jaina religion, though nothing is known about his specific caste. He was a minister of the Cohāṇa king Udayasiṁha of Jābālipura (modera Jhālor in Rājputānā).[6] The Kīrtikaumudī has clearly mentioned him as "the minister of the Cohāṇa king",[7] though it has not given the ruler's name. In the drama Hammīramadamardana (V. 48) of Jayasiṁhasūri, Vastupāla has been represented as honouring Yaśovīra as his elder brother. It can be said on the authority of the same

1 PK, 62. Here Nānāka has been referred to as the Vīsalanagarīya or coming from Vīsalanagara (modern Vīsnagar in North Gujarat); in the same work elsewhere (p. 120) he is mentioned as the Mahānagarīya or coming from Vaḍnagar. But it is evident on the authority of the contemporary Praśastis that Nānāka was an inhabitant of Vaḍnagar, and not of Vīsalanagara.

2 PK, p. 120. According to the PPS (p. 60), the sum awarded was 16000. The UT (p. 65) informs that Vastupāla gave Nānāka a tongue of gold. In a later collection of Prabandhas included in the PPS (p. 74) this verse has been ascribed to Someśvara.

3 Quoted in PC, p. 102.

4 KK, I. 27.

5 Ibid, I. 29.

6 VC, ch. VIII; PPS, p 49

7 KK, I. 28.

work that Yaśovīra had rendered considerable help to Tejapāla in making Vastupāla's strategy successful against the Muslim invasion (which is the theme of the HMM), and that Yaśovīra's advice was sought by Tejapāla on all important matters at that time, as Mārvāḍ and Mevāḍ were the places of action (HMM, V. 47 and p. 54). The name of Yaśovīra's father was also Udayasiṁha, as is known with certainty from his inscriptions.[1] The Purātanaprabandhasaṁgraha has given Dusāja as name of his father, and has also quoted some Apabhraṁśa Dūhās recited by the bards,[2] mentioning him as दुसाजुत्र (vide para 93); and this means that Dusāja may be another name of Yaśovīra's father Udayasiṁha. Yaśovīra's wife was Suhagadevī; he had five sons, out of which the name of only one, Karmasiṁha, is known.

Yas'ovīra's knowledge of the S'ilpas'āstra

91. Yaśovīra was also known as the Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa,[3] probably on account of his love for learning and his patronage of poets. Inscriptions call him Kavindrabandhu,[4] perhaps on account of his close relationship with Vastupāla. Someśvara has devoted to him not less than four laudatory verses in the first canto of his Kīrtikaumudī, which also speak of his intimate contact with Someśvara's patron. We get the description of his meeting with Vastupāla at the time of the installation ceremony of the Luṇavasati in 1231 A. D. Udayasiṁha, the lord of Jābālipura, the chief of Naḍul and Parmār Somasiṁha of Candrāvatī were among the royal personalities who had arrived to attend the function, and there were hundreds of officials from the towns and villages of the Caulukya kingdom.[5] Yaśovīra had also arrived with his king. Vastupāla welcomed him with a number of verses, and Yośovīra, in his turn, praised Vastupāla with two poetic verses.[6] Yośovīra has been mentioned in the Prabandhas as an authority on the science of architecture, and he was asked to give an opinion on the architecture of the Ābu temple. Then Yos'ovīra drew attention of Śobhanadeva, the chief architect, to the following defects according to the Śilpas'āstra–"In the assembly-hall the broad passage between the two female statues is altogether inappropriate in the temple of a Tīrthaṁkara, and is forbidden by the treatises on architecture. Moreover, this arch over the door that leads into the inner cell of the temple, on account of the two lions on it, altogether disturbs the worship of the god; and moreover, the hall of the elephants adorned with the statues of ancestors in the back-part of

1 PJLS, nos. 108, 109, 213.

2 PPS, pp. 50–51. This Yaśovīra should not be considered identical with Yośovīra under whose patronage the play Prabudhharauhiṇeya was acted (para 38), because the latter was a son of Pāsu, and a senior contemporary of our Yaśovīra, and lived during the reign of Samarasiṁha, the father of Udayasiṁha, under whom our Yośovīra worked as minister (PJLS, no. 352; JSI, p. 325 n.).

3 PK, p. 123.

4 तदंगजन्मास्ति कवीन्द्रबन्धुर्मंत्री यशोवीर इति प्रसिद्धः ।
ब्राह्मीरमाभ्यां युगपद्गुणोत्थविरोधशान्त्यर्थमिवाश्रितो यः ॥ (PJLS, nos. 108, 109, 213).

5 VC. ch. VIII.

6 PC, pp. 101–2; PK, 124; PPS, pp. 70–71.

the temple, is fatal to the long life of the man who built the temple. That an intelligent architect should have committed these irremediable faults is to be ascribed to the force of actions in a former life, which must always produce their effect." And thus giving the decision Yos'ovīra returned to his place.[1]

Yas'ovīra—a poet and a patron of literature.

92. From his verses quoted in the Prabandhas it seems that Yośovīra was a Sanskrit poet not devoid of merits. This is further corroborated by the fact that the Kīrtikaumudī has compared him with the poets Kālidāsa, Māgha and Abhinanda.[2] But no work of Yośovīra has come down to us. Being a man in an eminent position, he was also a patron of literature. In a palm-leaf manuscript of a Sanskrit anthology of verses preserved in the Saṁghavī pāḍā Bhāṇḍār at Pāṭaṇ (no. 52 of the incomplete section), I saw several verses in praise of minister Yośovīra in the section called Sajjanapraśaṁsā or the praise of the good. As the manuscript is fragmentary, we do not know either the date of composition or of copying or the name of the anthology or of the compiler. But this is enough to show how Yośovīra was held in high esteem by some poets. Jayamaṁgalasūri, grand-pupil of Vādī Devasūri and author of the Praśasti of Cācigedeva on the Sundhā hills in Rājasthān, had uttered the following verse, when Yośovīra installed the image of Mahāvīra in a temple called the Candana Vasati built by him at Jhālor—

यत्त्वयोपार्जितं वित्तं यशोवीर प्रतिष्ठया। तल्लक्षगुणितां नीतं यशो वीरप्रतिष्ठया ॥[3]

And the rhetorician Māṇikyacandra (see para 129-30), author of a commentary Saṁketa on the Kāvyaprakāśa, thus praised Yośovīra on an occasion—

यशोवीर लिखत्याख्यां यावच्चन्द्रे विधिस्तव। न माति भुवने तावदाद्यमप्यक्षरद्वयम् ॥[4]

93. Yośovīra was well-known among the Cāraṇas or bards, because he patronized them with ample gifts. Several Apabhraṁśa Dūhās of the bards recited in his praise have been preserved in the Prabandhas, and they are important not only for the personal history of Yośovīra and his patronage of the bards, but also for the study of the Apabhraṁśa folk-literature of Gujarāt and Rājasthān, a valuable part of which has been preserved in the Prākrit Grammar of Hemacandra, and works like the Prākrit Piṁgala. When Yośovīra concluded a treaty with Vīsaladeva of Dhavalakka on behalf of his ruler Udayasiṁha and thus made the latter's kingdom safe, a bard uttered the following Apabhraṁs'a couplet—

1 PC, p. 101. A further list of such architectural defects will be found in the PK, p. 124. We are not sure if these lists of defects, in their entirety, really came from Yośovīra. But we may say that he might have criticized the architecture of the temple from the point of view of the Vāstuśāstra, which points out not only artistic defects, but what may be called defects according to rules derived from superstitious beliefs.

2 KK, I. 26.

3 PPS, p. 50.

4 Ibid, p. 50.

जिम केतू हरि आजु तिम जइ लंकां हुत दुसाजुत्र ।
नाउं वूडत राजु राणाहीव रावण नणउं ॥[1]

"O son of Dusāj ! had you been in Laṁkā just as you are here, the kingdom of the great king Rāvaṇa would not have gone."

94. As we have seen, Yos'ovīra had built a temple in Jhālor. He had installed an image of Śāntinātha, the 16th Tīrthaṁkara, in a temple constructed for the spiritual welfare of his mother, in 1232 A. D. (1288 V. S.) at Mādrī (near Eranapura Road in Mārvāḍ),[2] and had also built two Devakulikās or small shrines on Ābu in 1235 A. D. (1291 V. S.).[3] From the inscriptions in these places it seems that Yos'ovīra was a follower of the Ācārya Śāntisūri of the Saṇḍeraka gachha of the Jaina Śvetāmbara sect.

(v) Subhaṭa

सुभटेन पदन्यासः सः कोऽपि समितौ कृतः । येनाधुनापि धीराणां रोमाञ्चो नापचीयते ॥

—Somes'vara[4]

95. Nothing is known about the personal history of Subhaṭa, but his connection with the literary circle of Vastupāla is attested by the fact that Somes'vara has praised his poetry along with that of other poets of the circle like Naracandra, Vijayasena, Harihara and Yos'ovīra; and that the Surathotsava informs us how Subhaṭa and Harihara appreciated the poetry of Somes'vara (see para 71). Only a one-act Sanskrit drama of Subhaṭa, the Dūtāṁgada, which is called a Chāyānāṭaka by the author, has come down to us. As is mentioned in the prologue, it was acted in Aṇahilavāḍ by the order of king Tribhuvanapāla (1242–1244 A. D.) on the occasion of a festival in honour of the late king Kumārapāla. But when we take into consideration the title of Kavipravara or 'the chief among the poets' bestowed upon Subhaṭa by Somes'vara, it appears that he may have written some greater works worthy enough to justify that title. Subhaṭa has also described himself in the prologue as proficient in logic.

(vi) Arisiṁha

यत्कवेर्लवणसिंहजन्मनः काव्यमेतदमृतोद्दीर्घिका ।
वस्तुपालनवकीर्तिकन्यया धन्यया किमपि यत्र खेलितम् ॥

—Amaracandrasūri[5]

Arisiṁha and Amaracandra

96. Ṭhakkura Arisiṁha was the son of Lāvaṇyasiṁha or Lavaṇasiṁha.[6] He was a favourite of Vastupāla, and had received from him land and

---

1 Ibid, p. 52. Two other Apabhraṁśa couplets in praise of Yaśovīra are quoted in the same work (pp. 50–51). One couplet in Udayasiṁha's praise is also found there.

2 JSI, p. 389.

3 PJLS, nos. 108–9.

4 KK, I. 24.

5 SS, X. 46.

6 Ibid, VIII. 48 and X. 46.

other gifts, just like Somes'vara, the author of the Kīrtikaumudī.[1] According to the Prabandhakos'a, he was a follower of Jinadattasūri of the Vāyaḍa gachha,[2] and as such he may be considered a Jain. Though Arisiṁha was a layman, he was a Kalāguru or preceptor in fine arts of the famous poet and rhetorician Amaracandra.[3] Amaracandra held Arisiṁha and his poetry in high esteem, as is clear from his works, and both the literary men, one a layman and another a monk, worked in close collaboration. Just as Arisiṁha had initiated Amaracandra into poetic art, it was Amaracandra who brought the former to the court of Vīsaladeva. Once Vīsaladeva asked Amaracandra, "who is your teacher in fine art?" Amara said, "the poet-prince Arisiṁha." "Then bring him to me to-morrow morning" (answered the king). The following morning Amaracandra led the poet before the king. The king sat leaning on his sword and asked, "is this the poet-prince?" He answered, "yes." Then the king said, "recite something suitable to the occasion." Thereupon Arisiṁha recited four verses in which he praised Vīsaladeva's sword. The prince was so charmed that he bestowed a permanent appointment and a high salary upon the poet. Soon afterwards the salary was doubled, because he described skilfully in a metrical form a blade of grass which the king held in his hand.[4]

The Sukṛtasaṁkīrtana and its date

97. Poetic fame of Arisiṁha had spread outside Gujarāt and a number of his verses have been included in the anthologies like the Sūktimuktāvali[5] and the Śārṁgadharapadhhati.[6] In these anthologies he has been mentioned as Arasī Ṭhakkura. Arasī is clearly the current form in Prākrit of his name and the identification becomes all the more probable when we find that in the Prabandhakośa his name has been spelt as Arasiṁha, the form which is so near to Arasī of the anthologies. The Upadeśataraṁgiṇī has quoted a verse of Arisiṁha in praise of Vastupāla, for which, according to that work, the former was awarded the sum of two thousand.[7] But most remarkable specimen of the poetic activity of Arisiṁha is his Mahākāvya Sukṛtasaṁkīrtana written in praise of his patron Vastupāla for commemorating his good deeds. Five verses at the end of each canto of this Mahākāvya are the compositions not of Arisiṁha, but of Amaracandra or Amara Paṇḍita. It is stated, "in this work which Arisiṁha composed, Amara Paṇḍita wrote these four verses canto by canto."[8] The number refers to the preceding four

1 UT, p. 79.

2 PK, p. 61

3 PK, p. 61.

4 Ibid, p. 63.

5 अतिविपुलं०, कान्तारे दैव०, तडिद्वा पङ्क्तो वा०, दधिमथन०, नक्तं निरंकुश०, मध्येन तस्या०. It may be remarked that दधिमथन० is wrongly ascribed here to Arisiṁha, as it is from the eleventh canto of the Ādiparvan of the Bāḷabhārata of Amaracandra.

6 अतिविपुलं० (no. 76).

7 UT, p. 73.

8 SS, I. 46.

verses and fifth which is repeated at the end of each canto is not reckoned. The verses have no close connection with the contents of the preceding parts. The first three either contain general praise of Vastupāla and bestow blessing upon him or mention incidents not described by Arisiṁha. The fourth always names Arisiṁha as the author of the work and praises his poetic skill; and the fifth mentions the fact that the preceding four are from the pen of Amara Paṇḍita.

98. Evidently, the Sukṛtasaṁkīrtana was composed when Vastupāla was at the zenith of his power.[1] This is proved, for instance, by two verses at the end of the first and second contos—

"Daily, illustrious prince of the council! Vastupāla! the Brāhmins call blessings on you, 'long may you live!' The chief bards, 'may you attain the age of Brahman'; and noble women, 'may you never grow old, and be immortal!' But I will also say something 'may you rejoice in your life as long as your far-reaching fame dances in the sky" (I. 42).

"Heavenly (wishing) cow, the (paradise) tree, (wish-fulfilling) precious stones! why hide ye yourselves in the tottering rocks of the divine mountain (Meru)? Adorn the earth; nobody demands you! May the illustrious minister Vastupāla live for ever!" (II. 52)

We are able to decide the upper and lower limits of the date of composition of the work more precisely. It was written most probably before 1231 A. D., to which year the inscriptions of the Ābu temple belong, because those magnificent structures are nowhere referred to in this work. But it was written after 1222 A. D. (V. S. 1278), the date of construction of a niche of Mallinātha on Ābu, which it mentions.[2]

99. No work of Arisiṁha, other than the Sukṛtasaṁkīrtana is extant. From a verse of Amaracandra in his Kāvyakalpalatā (I. 2),[3] Bühler thinks that Arisiṁha must have written another work called the Kavitārahasya, and that it was a hand-book of poetry.[4] It is possible, however, to interpret the word Kavitārahasya in the sense of "the mystery or depth of poetic genius." It appears that Arisiṁha was proficient in logic and dialectics, as at one place Amaracandra has referred to him as "a lion for the elephants in the form of rival dialecticians."[5] But we do not know if he wrote any work on the subject.

100. The work of Arisiṁha leaves no doubt that both he and Amaracandra belonged to Vastupāla's circle of poets, which the Prabandhas often mention. Amaracandra speaks thus in one of his concluding verses—

"Poverty has deserted, in resignation, so completely those men who continually rejoice in praising Vastupāla that she, indolent inspite of the

1 Bühler, IA, Vol. XXXI, p. 480.
2 SS, XI. 34.
3 सारस्वतामृतमहार्णवपूर्णिमेन्दोर्मैत्वारिसिंहसुकवेः कवितारहस्यम् ।
किञ्चिच्च तद्रचितमात्मकृतं च किञ्चिद् व्याख्यास्यते त्वरितकाव्यकृतेऽत्र सूत्रम् ॥ (I. 2)
4 Bühler, op. cit., p. 479.
5 SS, I. 45. Also II. 55.

command of the gods, does not even cross the threshold of their neighbours' houses" (II. 53).

It is clear from this that Arisiṁha and other poets were amply rewarded by Vastupāla for their poetic compositions and that the information regarding Vastupāla's patronage of literature derived from the later Prabandhas contains a good deal of truth. Moreover, we may not put the prime of the poetic career of Arisiṁha and Amaracandra as late as the reign of Vīsladeva, but it appears certain that they kept themselves in favour at the court of Dhavalakka even after the death of Vīradhavala and their patron Vastupāla.

(vii) Amaracandrasūri

ब्रह्मज्ञप्रवरो महाव्रतधरो वेणीकृपाणोऽमर: ।

–Nayacandrasūri[1]

Amaracandra-a Sādhu of the Vāyaḍa gachha

101. Amaracandrasūri is one of the remarkable names in the history of mediaeval Sanskrit literature, and he is best known as the author of the Bālabhārata and the Kāvyakalpalatā. Amaracandra was a pupil of Jinadattasūri[2] of the Vāyaḍa gachha of the Śvetāmbara Jaina sect. Vāyaḍa or Vāyaṭīya gachha has derived its name from a place called Vāyaḍa situated 15 miles north-west of Aṇahilavāḍ. The presiding deity of the place is Vāyu or the wind-god and hence the name of the place; and the Vāyaḍā Banias and Brāhmins of Gujarāt, who are devotees of the wind-god, have originated from Vāyaḍa. It was a custom in the Vāyaḍa gachha that the Ācāryas had only three names,[3] viz. Jinadatta, Rās'illa and Jīvadeva. Thus Amaracandra's guru was Jinadatta, his pupil was Rās'illa and the pupil of the latter was Jīvadeva; and again there came an Ācārya named Jinadatta. Considerable information regarding the antiquity of the Vāyaḍa gachha and the Ācāryas that flourished in that gachha can be had from the 7th chapter of the Prabhāvakacarita and also from the Pras'asti of the Bālabhārata.

Possibly a Vāyaḍā Brāhmin before he became a monk

102. Nothing is known about the personal history of Amaracandra before he became a Jaina monk. But it is not impossible that he was a Vāyaḍā Brāhmin, because inspite of the fact that he was a Jaina ascetic he has eulogized

1 Hammīra Mahākāvya, XIV. 31.

2 This Jinadattasūri is the same as the preceptor of Arisiṁha (para 96). He is the author of the Vivekavilāsa (circa 1220 A. D.), an encyclopaedic work composed for the instruction of the Jaina layman. Amaracandra says that he had written many other works (BBH, last canto, v. 30), but none of them except this one is extant. For Jinadatta's instruction to Vastupāla, vide PC, p. 101.

3 अमीभिस्त्रिभिरेव श्रीजिनदत्तादिनामभि: ।
सूरयो भूरयोऽभूवंस्तत्प्रभावास्तदन्वये ॥ (BBH, last canto, v. 37).

Vyāsa in the beginning of every canto of his Bālabhārata and has praised the wind-god, the presiding deity of Vāyaḍa, in the Pras'asti of the same work.[1] We also come to know that he had written the Bālabhārata at the request of the Brāhmins residing in Vāyaḍa.[2] The Hammīra Mahākāvya (14th century A. D.) eulogizes Amaracandra as a Brahmajña or knower of Veda, and the Kāvyakalpalatā reveals Amaracandra's complete mastery of Brāhmanical learning. Though Amaracandra became a Jaina Sādhu, it seems that, he did not abandon his ancestral Brāhmanism in toto. We get some more information about Amaracandra after his initiation into religious order, though even that information is mixed with accounts of strange miracles. It is narrated by the Prabandhakos'a[3] that Amaracandra, the pupil of Jinadattasūri, received the charm called Sidhhasārasvata from Kavirāja Arisiṁha. By his chanting of this charm for twentyone days in a secluded part of the mansion of the minister Padma, who was a staunch follower of the Vāyaḍa gachha, the goddess of learning appeared before him from the disc of the moon at the midnight of the twentyfirst day and gave him the boon that he would be a Sidhha Kavi or perfect poet, honoured by all the kings. The Purātanaprabandhasaṁgraha[4] informs that Amaracandra had cured some scholar of a fatal desease, and the latter gave him the charm called the Sidhhasārasvata. In any case, we may take it as certain that Amaracandra was initiated in the art of poetic composition by a literary man, in all probability by Arisiṁha, who was obliged by him in some way.

Amaracandra at the court of Vīsaladeva; Amaracandra and Arisiṁha

103. The Prabandhakos'a notes that after this Amaracandra wrote many works, and became famous as a poet, and was honoured by the king of Mahārāṣṭra and other rulers. Hearing of his fame, he was invited by Vīsaladeva to come to his court through the minister Vaijala. While entering the court, Amaracandra praised Vīsaladeva with two poetic verses. There the faculty of Amaracandra in extempore poetry was tested, and he was given Samasyās by Somes'vara, Somāditya of Vāmanasthalī, Kamalāditya of Kṛṣṇanagara, Nānāka and other court-poets, which were readily answered by him in poetic verses. The Prabandha says that in this way he answered 108 Samasyās, and the assembly was so enchanted that the people sat there till evening and Vīsaladeva accepted Amaracandra as the chief of the poets.[5] Though Amaracandra attained great literary fame, he always held in high esteem Arisiṁha, his teacher in fine arts; this is clear from the way in which

1 किञ्चित् सञ्चलितेऽपि वस्तुनि भृशं यत्संभवान्मन्महे विश्वं यन्मयमीश्वरादिमयतास्पष्टप्रमाणेप्सितम् ।
संसारप्रसरः परस्तनुमतां यस्यानुरोधेषु यत्संरोधेषु शिवं स यच्छतु सतां श्रीचारुतां मारुतः ॥

(Ibid, last canto, v. 1)

2 Ibid, last canto, vv. 42-44.

3 PK, p. 61.

4 PPS, p. 78.

5 PK, pp. 62-63.

he speaks about Arisiṁha in the verses appended to each canto of the Sukṛtasaṁkīrtana. For example—

"Arisiṁha, a lion for his elephant-like opponents in the field of dialectics, composed this work, which like the glances of the ever-gracious Vastupāla, dispenses rivers of nectar" (I. 45).

"This work, a flood of beams from the moon of the face of Lāvaṇyasiṁha's son, which draws off the swarms of bees from those water-lilies, the faces of the unworthy, produces mighty waves in the milk-ocean of fame of the excellent minister Vastupāla" (VIII. 48).

Literary works of Amaracandra

104. Amaracandra was a prolific and versatile writer. His Bālabhārata Mahākāvya, which is a summary in verse of the Mahābhārata, and Kāvyakalpalatā, a work on rhetoric, are well-known. It is noteworthy that according to the statement of Amaracandra himself,[1] the Kārikās in the Kāvyakalpalatā are partly composed by Amaracandra and partly by Arisiṁha. Amaracandra also composed a commentary called the Kavis'ikṣā on the Kāvyakalpalatā. He wrote two other commentaries on the same work, viz. the Kāvyakalpalatā-Parimala and the Kāvyakalpalatā-Mañjarī, out of which the Mañjarī is not extant.[2] Both the commentaries are referred by the author in the Kāvyakalpalatā.[3] Amaracandra wrote a work on poetics, called Alaṁkāraprabodha, which is also mentioned in the said Vṛtti (p. 116), but it is not discovered as yet. Moreover, Amaracandra wrote the Chandoratnāvali, a work on metrics, and the Syādis'abdasamuccaya, a work on grammar, which has been commented upon by one Jayānanda, of uncertain date. The Prabandhakos'a has mentioned two other works of Amaracandra, which are lost—viz. Sūktāvali and Kalākalāpa.[4] The former appears to have been an anthology of verses, while the latter has been called a Śāstra by the Prabandhakos'a, and it is probable that it may be a treatise on various traditional arts, just like the Kalāvilāsa of Kṣemendra.

Amaracandra's relations with the minister Padma

105. Among the works of Amaracandra, the Padmānanda Mahākāvya or Jinendracarita deserves special mention, because it was written under the auspices of a patron other than Vastupāla. That patron was none else but the minister Padma, whose name has been associated with the said work, and in whose house Amaracandra stayed, while chanting the Sidhhasārasvata charm, as stated in the Prabandha (para 102). Amaracandra has given a good deal of information about Padma in the Pras'asti of the Padmānanda, from which we can gather many things about an aristocratic family of Aṇahila-

1 p. 63, fn. 3.

2 Śubhavijaya has written a commentary, Makaranda, on the Kāvyakalpalatā in 1609 A. D. (JRK, p. 89).

3 KKL, pp. 19, 28, 63, 67. Also vide Kapadia, Padmānanda Mahākāvya, intro., pp. 28 and 42; and JSI, p. 378.

4 PK, p. 62.

vāḍ, which was very fond of learning and literature. Padma was born in a Vāyaḍā Vaṇik family, and Amaracandra begins his genealogy from a man named Vāsupūjya, who was a minister. Padma had received his Śrīkaraṇa-mudrā or ministerial seal from Vīsaladeva. His younger brother Malladeva has been also mentioned as minister; he may be among the councillors of Vīsaladeva, and may have attained the prime-ministership during the time of his successor Arjunadeva, because according to the inscriptions, Arjunadeva's Mahāmātya was one Māladeva.[1] Padma was not only an adept in politics but was also a poet, who praised the Tīrthaṁkara by composing new hymns. A dialectical contest was held before him between Amaracandra and a paṇḍita named Gauraguṇa, and he gave Jayapatra or certificate of victory and the title of Brahmendu to Amaracandra in recognition of his victory. Amaracandra wrote his poem, Padmānanda Mahākāvya, at the request of this gentleman. Belonging originally to the same place, that is Vāyaḍa, and being the followers of the same gachha, these two persons—one a layman, and the other a monk—were on very intimate terms, and it is no wonder if Amaracandra had got from Padma much help and encouragement in his literary Pursuits, as he had got from Vastupāla. The Padmānanda Mahākāvya has for its subject the life of the first Tīrthaṁkara Ādinātha, and hence it is also known as the Jinendracarita. Amaracandra has written another shorter work delineating the life of all the 24 Tīrthaṁkaras, which is entitled as the Caturviṁs'ati-Jinendra-saṁkṣipta-caritāni.

Chronology of Amaracandra's works

106. Nothing definite can be said regarding the chronology of Amaracandra's works, because none of them bears the date of its composition. There is not much of internal evidence to throw light on the point. We can only say that the Kāvyakalpalatā-mañjarī, Kāvyakalpalatā-parimala, Alaṁkāra-prabodha and Chandoratnāvali were composed before the Kāvyakalpalatā-vṛtti, because all of them are mentioned in the latter work.[2] Moreover, it may be inferred from the nomenclature of the commentaries that the Mañjarī ('sprout') was the first one to be written, and was followed by the Parimala ('fragrance'). The Padmānanda Mahākāvya was composed between 1238 (date of Vīsaladeva's accession) and 1241 A. D. (=1297 V. S., date of the Cambay ms.),[3] as it cannot be earlier than the date of Vīsaladeva's accession, because Vīsaladeva has been mentioned in its Praśasti as the king; and in the same way, it cannot be later than 1241 A. D., the date of its copy. From a reference in the Caturviṁśati-Jinendra-Saṁkṣipta-caritāni by Amaracandra,[4] it can be seen that the composition of the shorter work preceded that of the Padmānanda Mahākāvya.

---

1 BG, Vol. I, pt. I, p. 206.

2 For reference to the Chandoratnāvali, vide KKL, p. 6.

3 Bühler, IA, Vol. XXXI, p. 480.

4 पूर्वं श्रीवृषभादीनामर्हतां चरितानि ते। पुरः श्रीपद्म संक्षेपाद् वक्ष्ये विस्तरतस्ततः॥ (1. 2)

107. Some verses ascribed to Amaracandra are preserved in the Prabandhas. On the occasion of one of Vastupāla's Saṁghayātrās, Amaracandra was dozing, and hence the former just taunted him, but Amaracandra explained the reason of his sleepiness by way of a poetic verse, in which he described Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī conversing about the splendour of the pilgrim-caravan.[1] And Vastupāla put the lion-seat of Amaracandra first among all the poets. Another verse has been noted in the Upadeśataraṁgiṇī. Once Vastupāla was going to attend the sermon of Amaracandra, but while at the door of the hall he heard the Ācārya uttering the following line—

अस्मिन्नसारे संसारे सारं सारङ्गलोचना ।

And Vastupāla, thinking that the Ācārya's mind was full with thoughts about women, did not salute him. Then the Ācārya recited the second foot of the verse—

यत्कुक्षिप्रभवा एते वस्तुपाल भवादृशाः ॥

And being astonished, Vastupāla saluted him with honour.[2]

Amaracandra, nick-named as Veṇī-kṛpāṇa

108. Just as Kālidāsa is nick-named in Sanskrit literature as Dīpaśikhā-Kālidāsa, Māgha as Ghaṇṭā-Māgha and Harṣa as Anaṁga-Harṣa, Amaracandra is known as Veṇīkṛpāṇa (PK, p. 62), because in a beautiful verse in the Bālabhārata he has compared the braid of hair of a young woman with the sword of the god of love.[3]

Image of Amaracandra installed in a temple

109. There is an image of Amaracandra installed in a Jaina temple at Aṇahilavāḍ in V. S. 1349 (=1293 A. D.) by a person named Madanacandra, who was a disciple of Paṇḍita Mahendra.[4] It speaks of the eminent position that Amaracandra held in the field of scholarship and literature and also in the field of Jaina religion, that though he was not the head even of his own Gachha, his image was installed and worshipped in a Jaina temple not long after his death.

---

1 लक्ष्मि प्रेयसि० (VC, VI. 90). The PPS (p. 62) has ascribed this verse to Naracandrācārya.

2 UT, p. 74. The PK (pp. 109–11) and VC (IV. 485 ff.) ascribe this incident to Malla Vādin, head of the Stambhana Pārśvanātha Caitya at Stambhatīrtha, while the PPS (p. 76) ascribes it to Bālahaṁsasūri of the Suvrataswāmi Caitya at Bṛgukachha. But we must bear in mind that Malla Vādin had lived during the Valabhī age (para 8) and that Vīrasūri and his pupil Jayasiṁhasūri were the heads of the Muni Suvrata Caitya in the time of Vastupāla (para 126), and hence the account given in the UT seems to be more reliable.

3 Ādiparvan, XI. 6. For a verse having similar idea, vide the Ādiparvan, III. 63.

4 PJLS, no. 523.

(viii) Vijayasenasūri

जीयाद् विजयसेनस्य प्रभोः प्रातिभदर्पणः । प्रतिविम्बितमात्मानं यत्र पश्यति भारती ॥

–Udayaprabhasūri[1]

मुनेर्विजयसेनस्य सुधामधुरया गिरा। भारतीमञ्जुमञ्जीरस्वरोऽपि परुषीकृतः ॥

–Someśvara[2]

Vijayasenasūri : Vastupāla's family-preceptor

110. Vijayasenasūri was the Ācārya of the Nāgendra gachha, and Vastupāla's preceptor on the paternal side, and as such, the installation-ceremony of the images in the temples built by Vastupāla was performed at his hands. It was the advice and instruction of Vijayasena which inspired the building of temples, establishment of the Bhāṇḍāras, and the undertaking of Saṁghayātrās by Vastupāla and Tejapāla.[3]

Genealogy of the Nāgendra Gachha

111. Udayaprabhasūri, the chief disciple of Vijayasena, has given the genealogy of the teachers of the Nāgendra gachha in the Praśasti of his Dharmābhyudaya Mahākāvya, and also at the end of his commentary on the Upadeśamālā: Udayaprabha begins the genealogy from an Ācārya named Mahendrasūri, who was a great scholar of the Āgamas and also highly proficient in logic. His pupil was Śāntisūri, who had vanquished the Digambaras with the power of his knowledge. His two disciples were Ānandasūri and Amaracandrasūri, like the two tusks of the elephant in the form of religion. They were like the Mandara mountain for the unfathomable ocean of literature, and vanquished the rival dialecticians even in childhood, and hence they were called "the young ones of the tiger and the lion" (Vyāghra-siṁha-śiśukau) by the king Sidhharāja. Then came Haribhadrasūri, who was known as the Kalikālagautama on account of his merits. His pupil was Vijayasenasūri, 'whose speech is like the rainy waters able to extinguish the fire of worldly existence.' We also know from the Praśasti that when in Aṇahilavāḍ, Vijayasena always used to deliver his sermon in the temple of the Pañcāsarā Pārśvanātha, supposed to have been built by Vanarāja, the founder of the city.

Intimate relations of Vijaysena with Vastupāla's family

112. Vijayasena's relations with the family of Vastupāla were naturally very cordial, he being a Kulaguru or family-preceptor. A characteristic incident showing this intimacy has been described by Merutuṁga. He says, "Anupamādevī (Tejapāla's wife) having died, the knot of grief swelled up in Tejapāla, and could not be removed. Then Ācārya Vijayasena came there and assuaged his sorrow, and when Tejapāla had partially recovered his self-command, he became a little ashamed of himself and was thus addressed by the Ācārya,' we have come to see this fraud of yours.' Vastupāla asked

---

1 DHA, I. 14.

2 KK, I. 23.

3 VC, V. 420 ff; VI. 63 ff and 613 ff; VII. 333 ff; VIII. 1 ff.

the reverend teacher what this meant. He said, 'when Tejapāla was a boy, I asked for him from Dharaṇiga the hand of the maiden Anupamā in marriage, and the arrangement was then concluded. Afterwards he heard of the lack of beauty of the maiden, and in order to break off the engagement, he offered the Kṣetrapāla in the shrine of Jina Candraprabha, eatables and other things worth eight drammas. Now he is despondent on account of the pain of separation from her; of these two sides on which lies the truth ?' When Tejapāla was thus reminded of the original state of affairs, he made his heart firm."[1]

Vijayasena-a scholar and a poet

113. It was at the instance of Vijayasena that Vastupāla had gone to salute Jagaccandrasūri of the Vṛdhha Tapā gachha[2] and had honoured him and his pupils. Vijayasena was a scholar. Pradyumnasūri, the author of the *Samarāditya-saṁkṣepa* (1268 A. D.), was taught Nyāya by him,[3] and he had also revised the Vivekamañjarī-Ṭīkā of Bālacandra.[4] A verse in praise of Vastupāla has been ascribed to Vijayasena by the Upadeśataraṁgiṇī (p. 76. देव स्वनाथ कष्टं॰), but we cannot take the ascription as authentic, because the same is found as the seventh verse of the metrical portion of the Girnār inscription by Narendraprabha (PJLS, no. 4-4; HIG, no. 210) and also as the 27th verse of the second Vastupālapraśasti of the same author.[5] No other Sanskrit composition of Vijayasena has been found as yet, but judging from the way in which his poetic faculty has been referred to by the contemporary authors, it is probable that he may have composed some Sanskrit poetic works worthy of note. We have an Apabhraṁśa work, the Revantagiri Rāsu, from his pen. It was composed on the occasion of one of Vastupāla's pilgrimages to Girnār.

Death of Vijayasena

114. According to the colophon of a manuscript of the Piṇḍaniryukti in the Jaina Bhāṇḍār at Chāṇī, near Baroda, Vijayasenasūri died in 1301 V. S. (1245 A. D.).[6] The manuscript appears to have been copied down by a Sādhu of the Nāgendra Gachha, as the colophon gives a metrical genealogy of the teachers of the same Gachha, beginning from Mahendrasūri, and hence the date given in it may be considered reliable.

---

1 The translation is quoted from Tawny (p. 167) with a few emendations here and there. Also vide the PC (Skt.), pp. 104-5.

2 VC, VIII. 31 ff. It may be noted here that Vijayacandrasūri, the pupil of Jagaccandrasūri, was an accountant in the house of Vastupāla before he became an ascetic (Gurvāvali of Munisundarasūri, vv. 122-25).

3 Samarāditya-Saṁkṣepa, I. 24.

4 Peterson, Report III, p. 100.

5 In the PK (p. 59) the same verse has been ascribed to Harihara and in the VC (V. 403) to some anonymous poet.

6 इन्दुखाग्निविधुसंख्यवत्सरे ज्येष्ठकृष्णनवमीतिथौ निशि। स्वःपुरीमलमकार्षु(र)र्हतां ध्यानतो विजयसेनसूरयः॥ (v. 5)

(ix) Udayaprabhasūri

गुरोस्तस्याशिषां पात्रं सूरिरस्त्युदयप्रभः। मौक्तिकानीव सूक्तानि भान्ति यत्प्रतिभाम्बुधेः ॥
—Someśvara[1]

Udayaprabha--junior in age to Vastupāla

115. Udayaprabhasūri was the chief pupil of Vijayasenasūri. It appears that he was considerably junior in age to Vastupāla, as Vastupāla had invited well-known scholars from long distance for teaching Udayaprabha various Śāstras.[2] Vastupāla also organised the function to install Udayaprabha as an Ācārya at a large expense.[3]

Literary works of Udayaprabha; he is different from Udayaprabha, author of the Ṭippaṇas on three Karmagranthas, etc.

116. The main literary work of Udayaprabhasūri is his Dharmābhyudaya Mahākāvya or Saṁghapaticaritra, which was probably composed on the occasion of Vastupāla's great pilgrimage in 1221 A. D., though the author has not mentioned the date of composition or has not expressly referred to any particular yātrā. In any case, it must have been composed before 1234 A. D. (= 1290 V. S.), because a manuscript of the work bearing that date, in Vastupāla's own handwriting, has been preserved in the Jaina Bhaṇḍār at Cambay. The Nemīnāthacarita of Udayaprabha (JRK, p. 217; JSI, p. 386) is not a separate work, but it is only a part of his Dharmābhyudaya (cantos 10–14). This statement is corroborated by the fact that the Granthāgra of the Nemīnāthacarita has been given as 2100 ślokas (JRK, p. 217), and that of the above-mentioned five cantos in the Dharmābhyudaya is 2142 ślokas, which can be considered almost equal, if we make allowance for the difference of a few verses here and there, owing to discrepancies at the hands of the copyists. Among other works of Udayaprabha there are two panegyrics called the Sukṛtakīrtikallolinī and Vastupālastuti, glorifying the good deeds of Vastupāla and Tejapāla. The former work was composed on the occasion of Vastupāla's Saṁghayātrā in 1221 A. D., and was inscribed on a slab in the Indramaṇḍapa built by him on Śatruñjaya.[4] Udayaprabha also wrote in 1243 A. D. (1299 V. S.) an exhaustive commentary called the Karṇikā on the Upadeśamālā, the famous Prākrit Prakaraṇa by Dharmadāsa Gaṇi (before the 9th century), while staying in the Upāśrayā built by Vastupāla at Dhavalakka.[5] The commentary was composed, as mentioned in the Praśasti, at the suggestion of Vijayasenasūri, the author's Guru, and the first copy of the same was made by a scholar named Devabodha. It was revised by Pradyumnasūri, pupil of Kanakaprabha and the author of the Samarāditya-

1 Ābu Praśasti, v. 71.
2 PPS, p. 64.
3 VC, VII. 60–61.
4 SKK, vv. 165–67.
5 सेयं पुरे धवलके नृपवीरवीरमन्त्रीशपुण्यवसतौ वसतौ वसद्भिः।
वर्षे ग्रह-ग्रह-रवौ कृतभार्कसंख्यैः श्लोकैर्विशेषविवृतिर्विहिताऽद्भुतश्री· ॥
—Karṇikā, Praśasti

saṁkṣepa. The scholarship of Udayaprabha is noticed in other fields too. He composed the Ārambhasidhhi, a well-known work on astrology. A fragmentary work, only 47 verses of which have been preserved on a palm-leaf manuscript in the Khetaravasī Bhāṇḍār at Pāṭaṇ, is a composition of Udayaprabha, and the name of the work is probably Śabdabrahmollāsa, as can be inferred from the second verse (प्रभोदयप्रभः शब्दब्रह्मोल्लासः प्रकाशताम् ।). The extant verses are mostly for the Maṁgala purposes, and it is difficult to say anything definitely about the subject-matter of the work. Perhaps it may have been a treatise on the philosophy of grammar, as the title suggests. Verses in a Girnār inscription of Vastupāla are composed by Udayaprabha.[1] A 19-verse Praśasti of a Pauṣadhaśālā built by Vastupāla in Stambhatīrtha in 1225 A. D. (1281 V. S.) was written by Udayaprabha,[2] and the Prabandhas ascribe to him a few Sanskrit verses.[3] It may be noted here that Malliṣeṇa, the author of the Syādvādamañjarī (1292 A. D.), the famous work on Jaina philosophy, which is a commentary on the Anyayogavyavachhedadvātriṁśikā of Hemacandra, was a pupil of Udayaprabhasūri (JRK, p. 12; Peterson, Report IV, p. 125). Udayaprabha, who wrote a commentary on the Pravacanasārodhhāra of Nemicandra,[4] and also Ṭippaṇas on three Karmagranthas, viz. the Karmavipāka, Karmastava and Śataka, was a pupil of Raviprabhasūri,[5] and hence different from our Udayaprabha. This other Udayaprabha is older than our Udayaprabha, and lived in the 12th century A. D.[6]

(x) Jinabhadra

117. Jinabhadra was a pupil of Udayaprabhasūri. No more information is available about him, but this much we know that he had composed a Prabandhāvali or a collection of historical and legendary anecdotes, which contained a number of stories, for the reading of Jayatasiṁha, Vastupāla's son, in 1234 A. D. (=1290 V. S.).[7] Though the work has come down in a form which cannot be called complete and also contains some interpolations (para 234), it is an important source-book for the history of Gujarāt, and as such, has been included by Jinavijayaji in that collection of the Prabandhas, called the Purātanaprabandha-saṁgraha.

1 HIG, no. 212; PJLS, no. 43-6.

2 Annals, vol. IX, p. 177.

3 PPS, p. 71; UT, P. 142.

4 Peterson, Report III, p. 262; JRK, p. 272.

5 Vide at the end of the Ṭippaṇa on the Śataka–
स्वपरसमयज्ञानप्रीतिप्रहृष्टजगज्जनाश्चतुरवचनामोदमृष्टामरेशगुरुप्रभाः ।
अभिनृपसमं गंगागौरप्रनर्त्तितकीर्त्तयस्तदनु महसः पात्रं याता रविप्रभसूरयः ॥
तच्छिष्यः स्वपरकृते श्रीशतकस्य टिप्पनम् । श्रीउदयप्रभसूरिश्चकार शुभमङ्गलम् ॥
Verses to the same purport are also to be seen at the end of the Ṭippaṇas on the Karmavipāka and Karmastava (vide ms. no. 2173 in the Pravartaka Kāntivijayajī Śāstrasaṁgraha, Baroda).

6 JSI, p. 25.

7 PPS, p. 136.

(xi) Naracandrasūri

नरचन्द्रमुनीन्द्रस्य विश्वविद्यामयं महः। चतुरन्तधरित्रीशसभ्यैरभ्यर्चितं स्तुमः॥
—Udayaprabhasūri[1]

कवीन्द्रश्च मुनीन्द्रश्च नरचन्द्रो जयत्यसौ। प्रशस्तिर्यस्य काव्येषु संक्रान्ता हृदयादिव ॥
—Someśvara[2]

Naracandra- Vastupāla's Guru on the maternal side

118. Naracandrasūri was a pupil of Devaprabhasūri[3] of the Harṣapurīya or Maladhāra gachha. He was the preceptor of Vastupāla on the maternal side,[4] and was in close contact with Vijayasenasūri and his pupils. Vastupāla held him in high honour, and he had taught Vastupāla the three Vidyās, i. e. Nyāya, Vyākaraṇa and Sāhitya, and also the Jaina works—Ṣaḍāvaśyaka and Karmaprakṛti.[5] On the occasion of one of his Saṁghayātrās, Vastupāla requested Naracandra to perform the Vāsakṣepa ceremony, but Naracandra with a high sense of propriety, declined to do so, and at his suggestion Vastupāla called Vijayasena and Udayaprabha, his preceptors on the paternal side, from a place called Pilupadra or Piluāi (probably modern Pilu, a few miles from Hanumāngaḍh in the Bikāner State) in Mārvāḍ.[6] He accompanied Vastupāla in a number of his pilgrimages.

Literary works of Naracandra

119. Naracandrasūri was a great scholar, and highly proficient at least in four Śāstras—viz. Nyāya, Vyākaraṇa, Sāhitya and Jyotiṣ. In Nyāya he has written a scholarly Ṭippaṇa or gloss on the Nyāyakandalī of Śrīdhara, in Vyākaraṇa the Prākṛtaprabodha, a treatise on the Prākrit grammar, in Sāhitya a Ṭippaṇa on the Anargharāghava of Murāri,[7] and in Jyotiṣ the Jyotiḥsāra or Nāracandra Jyotiḥsāra–more briefly known as the Nāracandra, perhaps the most popular work

---

1 DHA, I. 13.

2 KK, I. 22.

3 Devaprabhasūri was the author of the Pāṇḍavacarita, a Jaina poetical version of the Mahābhārata, a commentary on the Anargharāghava Nāṭaka of Murāri, and seveal other works. The Prabandhas state that he gave religious sermons citing the authority of the Brāhmin Śāstras, and hearing him, king Vīradhavala had abandoned hunting, and also partaking of meat and liquor (VC, V. 348 ff; PK, p. 113). Jagaccandrasūri was guided by Devaprabha in the interpretation of the Jaina Āgamas (VC, VII. 320.).

4 VC, I. 92; PK, p. 113.

5 PK, p. 113.

6 VC, V. 420; PK, p. 113.

7 Naracandra was helped by one Vimalasūri in the writing of this Ṭippaṇa; see the last verse of the Praśasti–

शब्दप्रमाणसाहित्यत्रिवेणीसङ्गमश्रियाम्। श्रीमद्विमलसूरीणामिदमुद्यमवैभवम् ॥

of Jaina astrology.[1] Unfortunately, only two chapters of the Jyotiḥsāra are extant and as one Sāgaracandra, of uncertain date, has commented only upon these two chapters, it can be said that the complete text was not available even to him. It was in order to satisfy the eagerness of Vastupāla to hear the narratives pertaining to Jaina religion that Naracandrasūri composed his Kathāratnākara or Kathāratnasāgara, containing a number of Dharmakathās.[2] Peterson has taken notice of a manuscript of the Carturvimśati—Jina—Stotra of Naracandra in the Pāṭaṇ Bhāṇḍār,[3] but I could not trace the manuscript in any of the Bhāṇḍāras in the said place. A hymn called the Sarva-Jina-Sādhāraṇa-Stavana of Naracandra has been included in the Jain Stotra Sandoha (pp. 20-22), and presumably this may be identical with the hymn noted by Peterson. Naracandra also wrote metrical portion of two of the Girnār inscriptions of Vastupāla[4] and also a panegyric called the Vastupālapraśasti. We also know that Naracandra had revised the Pāṇḍavacarita of his own Guru Devaprabhasūri, and the Dharmābhyudaya of Udayaprabhasūri, as is mentioned at the end of both these works. Moreover, he had given lessons in the Uttarādhyayanasūtra to Pradyumnasūri,[5] whom I have already referred to (para 113 and 116). Several verses ascribed to Naracandra have

---

1 cf. Rājaśekharasūri on Naracandra in his Nyāyakandalī Pañjikā (circa 1349 A. D.)-

टिप्पनमनर्घराघवशास्त्रे किल टिप्पनं च कन्दल्याम् । सारं ज्योतिषमद्भुथः प्राकृतदीपिकामपि च ॥

-Peterson, Report III, p. 275.

It may be noted here that Naracandra, who wrote Praśnaśataka (1178 A.D.), Jyotiś-caturviṁśikā and Janmasamudra, was a Sādhu of the Kāsahrada gachha and a pupil of Siṁhasūri, and hence different from our Naracandra. Vide the colophon of the Praśnaśataka-

इति श्रीकासह्रदगच्छीयश्रीसिंहसूरिशिष्यश्रीनरचन्द्रोपाध्यायकृतायां ज्ञानदीपिकासंज्ञायां प्रश्नशतकवृत्तौ वृत्तिबेडालघुभगिन्यां वृष्टिवार्त्तादिप्रकीर्णकफललक्षणो नाम सप्तमः प्रकाशः ॥ छ ॥ ज्ञानदीपिकानामवृत्तिः समाप्ता ॥ जन्मप्रकाशं कवितत्त्वलेशं प्रश्नप्रकाशं नरचन्द्रनामा । योऽध्यापकः प्रश्नशतं स चक्रे कासह्रदो जन्मसमुद्रवृत्तीः ॥

(ms. no. 2164, collection of Pravartaka Śrī Kāntīvijayaji, Baroda)

Colophon of the Jyotiś-caturviṁśikā-

श्रीकासह्रदगच्छपोऽर्बुदगिरिन्यस्तादिनाथः पुरा चैकाकी नवमासकल्पविकृतिः श्रीसिंहसूरिप्रभुः ।
तन्नामप्रतिमाभिधो गुरुरभूद् गोत्रेऽस्य शिष्यः श्रुतस्तेनायं चतुरार्थमर्थबहुला चक्रे चतुर्विंशतिः ॥
इति नरचन्द्रोपाध्यायकृता चतुर्विंशतिका संपूर्णा ॥ छ ॥

(ms. no. 5101, Śrī Hemacandrācārya Jaina Jñāna Mandira, Pāṭaṇ)

2 अन्येद्युर्भक्तितो मौलौ निधाय करकुड्मलम् । तेन विज्ञपितः श्रीमान् नरचन्द्रमुनीश्वरः ॥
युष्माभिः स्वकराम्बुजस्य शिरसि न्यस्तस्य माहात्म्यतः प्राप्तं जम्भजितोऽपि दुर्लभतरं संघाधिपत्यं मया ।
धर्मस्थानशतानि दानविषयस्ते ते च सन्तेनिरे चेतः सम्प्रति जैनशासनकथाः श्रोतुं समुत्कण्ठते ॥
इत्यभ्यर्थनया चक्रुर्वस्तुपालस्य मन्त्रिणः । नरचन्द्रमुनीन्द्रास्ते श्रीकथारत्नसागरम् ॥

-Kathāratnākara, I. 8-10.

3 Peterson, Report V, p. 96.

4 HIG, nos. 208 and 211; PJLS, nos. 39-2 and 42-5.

5 Samarāditya-Saṁkṣepa, I. 23.

been preserved in the Prabandhas.[1] The account of the consolation that he gave to Vastupāla when the latter wept on seeing the image of his mother on Śatruñjaya is most touching, and also significant from the historical point of view, because it refers to a similar incident in the case of Sidhharāja Jayasiṁha.[2]

Date of Naracandra's death

120. According to the Prabandhakośa, Naracandrasūri died on the tenth day of the dark fortnight of the month Bhādrapada in V. S. 1287 (=1231 A. D.).[3] The Prabandha notes that some time before his death, he prophesied the year of Vastupāla's demise.[4]

(xii) Narendraprabhasūri

तस्य गुरोः प्रियशिष्यः प्रभुर्नरेन्द्रप्रभः प्रभावाढ्यः । योऽलंकारमहोदधिमकरोत् काकुत्स्थकेलिं च ॥
—Rājaśekharasūri[5]

Composition of the Alaṁkāramahodadhi at Vastupāla's request

121. "Once Vastupāla, folding his hands with devotion, thus requested Naracandrasūri- 'Some works on Alaṁkāra are difficult to grasp, because they are lengthy, while some are not sufficiently clear, as they are too short. Some other books contain much that is irrelevant and can be understood with difficulty. My mind is tired of listening to such works, which give no judgment regarding the real nature of poetic art. So please expound to me a Śāstra, which is not too long, which contains the essence of poetic art and can be understood even by the less intelligent.' Hearing this, the Ācārya suggested to his pupil Narendraprabhasūri to write such a work, and the latter composed the Alaṁkāramahodadhi—kārikās and the vṛtti thereon—for the delectation of Vastupāla.[6] It was written, according to the author's own statement, in V. S. 1282 (= 1226 A.D.).

Other works of Narendraprabha

122. It appears that in addition to the Alaṁkāramahodadhi, Narendraprabha had composed a work called the Kākutsthakeli, as can be inferred from the verse of Rājaśekharasūri, quoted above from the Nyāyakandalī-pañjikā. From the list of an old Bhāṇḍāra[7] we come to know that the Kākutsthakeli was a drama, the Granthamāna or

1 PPS, p. 69; PK, p. 115; VC, VI. 75, 372; UT, p. 73.
2 PK, p. 115; VC, VI. 468 ff.
3 PK, p. 127.
4 VC, VIII. 440–42.
5 Praśasti of the Nyāyakandalī-Pañjikā, quoted by Peterson, Report III, p. 275.
6 AM, p. 3.
7 PT, Vol. II, p. 426.

Granthāgra[1] of which was 1500 Ślokas. The list does not throw any light on the subject-matter of the play, but it may be assumed from the title that its theme may have something to do with the history of Rāma, a favourite subject with the Sanskrit play-wrights. No manuscript of the said work has been found as yet. Narendraprabhasūri has written two panegyrics of Vastupāla, known as the Vastupālapraśasti-one of 104, and the other of 37 verses. Probably, the longer Praśasti was composed on Śatruñjaya on the occasion of one of the Saṁghayātrās of Vastupāla, as is evident from the manner in which the author refers to that mountain(अत्रैव शैले रचयांचकार मनोज्ञमाखण्डलमण्डपं यः० v. 78; अत्रैव शत्रुञ्जयशैलमौलौ० v.82). There is also additional evidence in the fact that verses 77 to 98 are devoted to the enumeration of public and pious works of Vastupāla during the pilgrimage. In the same way, one may be justified in assuming that the shorter Vastupālapraśasti may have been composed at the commencement of the aforesaid Saṁghayātrā, as in the last verse it refers to the commencement of the pilgrimage, but does not give any more details, the rest of the poem being devoted to the conventional praise of the ministers. Thus we may believe that Narendraprabha accompanied the pilgrim-caravan; and wrote his two panegyrics-the shorter one at the commencement of the pilgrimage and the longer one at the time of its completion on Śatruñjaya. Moreover, verses in a Girnār inscription of Vastupāla are composed by Narendraprabha.[2] He also wrote two collections of verses on religious topics-Vivekapādapa and Vivekakalikā-from which we know that he bore the pen-name Vibudhacandra Kavi.[3]

(xiii) Bālacandra

वाग्वल्लीदलदस्रवः कति न ते सन्त्याखुतुल्योपमाः सत्योल्लेखमुषः स्वकोष्ठपिठरीसम्पूर्त्तिधावद्धियः ।
सोऽन्यः कोऽपि विदर्भरीतिबलवान् बालेन्दुसूरिः पुरो यस्य स्वर्गिपुरोहितोऽपि न गवां पौरोगवस्तादृशः॥

–Aparājita Kavi[4]

बहुप्रबन्धकर्तुः श्रीबालचन्द्रस्य का स्तुतिः । मन्त्रीशवस्तुपालेन यः स्तुतः कवितागुणात् ॥

—Pradyumnasūri[5].

Genealogy of Bālacandra's teachers

123. Bālacandra was a pupil of Haribhadrasūri of the Candra Gachha. He has given at length the genealogy of his teachers in the Praśastis of his commentaries on the Upadeśakandalī and Vivekamañjarī

1 It is well-known that this device of Granthāgra has been used, mostly by Jaina writers and copyists, to indicate the extent of literary works. The Anuṣṭup is taken as a unit, and the number of the ślokas of the work-which may be in verse or prose or in both-is calculated by considering 32 syllables as equal to one śloka.

2 HIG, no. 210; PJLS, no. 41-4.

3 PBC, pp. 187 f.

4 This verse has been found written at the end of a manuscript of the Vasantavilāsa Mahākāvya of Bālacandra, in the Pāṭaṇ Bhaṇḍār (VV, p. 79). Nothing is known about the date or personal history of Aparājita Kavi, its author.

5 Samarāditya-Saṁkṣepa, I. 26.

of Āsaḍa (PBC, pp. 329–33; VMT, pp. 215 ff.): In the Candra Gachha there flourished an Ācārya named Pradyumnasūri, who gave religious instruction to the king of Talavāṭaka (modern Talavāḍā, situated 8 miles west of Bānsvāḍā iu Rājasthān). Candraprabhasūri, who succeeded him, composed a morning hymn to Jina. After him came Dhaneśvarasūri, who got a Mantra from his Guru, and initiated to right understanding the goddess of Samayupura (modern Samau, near Pāṭaṇ). He had four pupils—Vīrabhadra Devasūri, Devabhadra and Devendrasūri, like four hands of Sarasvatī. Devendrasūri was staying at Maṇḍalī and he performed the installation ceremony of the image in a temple of Mahavīra in that city. His successor was Bhadreśvarasūri, and after him came Abhayadevasūri who vanquished many disputants. The poet Āsaḍa drank the nectar of instruction of Abhayadevasūri,[1] and then composed his two works—Vivekamañjarī and Upadeśakandalī. His pupil was Haribhadra, well-versed in six schools of philosophy and literature, and the Guru of our author.

Bālacandra's Personal history and his contact with Vastupāla

124. In the first canto of his Vasantavilāsa Mahākāvya, Bālacandra has given some account of his life, prior to his becoming a Jaina ascetic: In the town of Moḍheraka (modern Moḍherā near Pāṭaṇ) there was a famous Brāhmin named Dharādeva. He was well-acquainted with Jainism. He was a wealthy man, and supplicants coming to his house always returned with their hands full with money. The name of his wife was Vidyut. They had a son named Muñjāla, who though living with his parents, looked on the world as an illusion. Being instructed and enlightened by Haribhadrasūri, he became a Jaina asetic with the permission of his parents, and was named Bālacandra. When Haribhadra found that his end was near, he installed Bālacandra in his place. Bālacandra was tutored by Padmāditya, who was a great scholar and adored by the Caulukya kings. Udayasūri of the gachha of Vādī Devasūri gave him the Sārasvata charm. Once, when Bālacandra was in Yoganidrā or contemplative trance, the Goddess Sarasvatī appeared to him, and told him that she was pleased with his devotion, and that he was just her child like Kālidāsa and other poets. And the poet says that being thus blessed by the goddess of learning he became bold enough to sing the fame of Vastupāla. The Prabandhas mention that once young Bālacandra praised Vastupāla with a verse (गौरी रागवती त्वयि०), comparing him with God Śiva in every respect;[2] and Vastupāla, being pleased with it, spent several thousand drammas in the ceremony for installing Bālacandra as an Ācārya.

Literary works of Bālacandra

125. The main work of Bālacandra is his Vasantavilāsa Mahākāvya, depicting the life of Vasantapāla, a name given to Vastupāla by his poet-friends

1 It may be mentioned here that this Abhayadevasūri is different from Abhayadevasūri, the famous commentator of the Jaina Āgama (para 20).

2 PC, p. 103; VC, VII. 118–20; UT, p. 73. The same verse with some alteration has been given by Bālacandra in praise of Jaitrasiṁha, Vastupāla's son, at the end of the third canto of the Vasantavilāsa.

(para 63). It was written at the request of the latter's son Jaitrasiṁha. The author has not given the date of composition, but as it mentions the death of Vastupāla in 1240 A. D. (1296 V. S.), it must have been written after that year. Karuṇāvajrāyudha is a one-act play of Bālacandra, which was acted on Śatruñjaya in the temple of Ādinātha, for the entertainment of the pilgrims on the occasion of one of Vastupāla's Saṁghayātrās, as mentioned in the prologue. Some scholars think that this was the famous Saṁghayātrā of 1221 A. D.[1] Two other works of Bālacandra are his commentaries on the Vivekamañjarī and the Upadeśakandalī, two Prakaraṇas in Prākrit giving Jaina religious instruction, by Āsaḍa of the Śrīmālī community, who was given the title of Kavi-sabhā-śṛṁgāra by the courtiers of the Caulukya king, as stated in the Praśastis of both the commentaries. The commentary on the former work was revised by Vijayasenasūri of the Nāgendra gachha and Padmasūri of the Bṛhad gachha. It bears no date, but it must have been composed before 1245 A. D., the year of Vijayasena's death (para 114). The commentary on the latter work is also without date, but as a palm-leaf manuscript of the same in the Pāṭaṇ Bhaṇḍāra is copied down in 1296 V. S. (1240 A. D.),[2] it must have been composed before that year. Both the commentaries were written at the request of Jaitrasiṁha, the younger son of Āsaḍa, the author of the original works. We also know from the Praśastis of both the commentaries that as the family of Jaitrasiṁha followed the Candra gachha, Bālacandra was his Kulaguru, 'family-preceptor', and that he was a spiritual son (Dharmaja) of a nun named Ratnaśrī. Pradyumnasūri of the same gachha, who considered Bālacandra his elder brother,[3] helped him in writing both the commentaries.[4] It seems that Bālacandra had also written a work called the Gaṇadharāvali, giving the genealoy of Jaina teachers, as is suggested by the title; he refers to it as his own composition in his commentary on the Vivekamañjarī.[5] The work is not discovered as yet.

(xiv) Jayasiṁhasūri

Hammīramadamardana and Vastupāla-Tejapāla Pras'asti

126. Jayasiṁhasūri was a pupil of Vīrasūri and head of the Muni Suvrata Caitya of Bṛgukachha. He is the author of the play Hammīramadamardana, dramatizing Vastupāla's strategy in repulsing a Muslim attack on Gujarāt. The play was acted at Stambhatīrtha at the instance of Jayantasiṁha or Jaitrasiṁha, Vastupāla's son, the then governor of that city. It must have been composed between 1223 A.D. (=1279 V.S.),[6] the date of the beginning of Jayantasiṁha's governorship and the date of the Jesalmer palm-leaf manuscript, which was copied down in 1230 A.D.(=1286 V.S.).[7] Another composition of Jayasiṁha-

1 JSI, p. 384.
2 PBC, p. 333.
3 Samarāditya-Saṁkṣepa, Praśasti, v. 4.
4 Peterson, Report III, p. 100. Also VMT Praśati, v. 14.
5 यद्गुक्तमस्माभिर्गणधरावल्याम्—VMT, pp. 5, 50.
6 Vide the Girnār inscriptions of Vastupāla.
7 HMM, intro., p.1; JBC, p. 23.

sūri is a panegyric in 77 verses called the Vastupāla-Tejapāla Praśasti. The occasion of its composition was as follows—Once Tejapāla had been on a pilgrimage to the Muni Suvrata Caitya, when the author requested him to provide 25 Devakulikās or small shrines in the temple Śakunikāvihāra, built by minister Āmbaḍa, with golden flag-staffs. Tejapāla agreed to it with the consent of Vastupāla, and erected the staffs;[1] and Jayasiṁhasūri composed the Praśasti to commemorate the occasion. It appears from the form of the Praśasti that it must have been inscribed on a slab in the walls of the temple. But the Śakunikāvihāra was turned into a mosque and the slab destroyed, but the Praśasti has come down to us in the manuscript-form. It is difficult to assign an exact date to the Praśasti.

This Jayasiṁhasūri different from the author of the Kumārapālacarita and Dharmopades'amālā

127. It may be noted here that This Jayasiṁhasūri is different from Jayasiṁhasūri of the Kṛṣṇa Gachha, author of the Kumārapālacarita Mahākāvya (1366 A.D.), and of the Nyāyatātparya Dīpikā, a commentary on the Nyāyasāra of Bhāsarvajña, and also different from an older Jayasiṁhasūri, pupil of Kṛṣṇa, who wrote Dharmopadeśamālā in 859 A. D. (para 304).

(xv) Māṇikyacandra

128. Māṇikyacandra was a Jaina ascetic of the Rāja Gachha, and a pupil of Sāgaracandrasūri, who was a pupil of Nemicandrasūri.[2] He is the author of the famous Saṁketa, one of the oldest and most authoritative commentaries on the Kāvyaprakāśa of Mammaṭa (circa 1100 A. D.), another very old commentary from Gujarāt being the Dīpikā or Jayantī by Jayanta (1294 A. D.), son of Bhāradvāja and family-priest of the chief minister of king Sāraṁgadeva of the Vāghelā dynasty.[3] Māṇikyacandra also composed two Mahākāvyas —Śāntināthacaritra and Pārśvanāthacaritra.[4]

Date of the composition of the Saṁketa

129. The Saṁketa is generally believed by scholars to have been composed in 1160 A. D. (1216 V. S.).[5] Māṇikyacandra himself has mentioned the date of composition as follows, at the end of his work—

1 Vide also VC, ch. VII.

2 For genealogy of Māṇikyacandra's teachers, vide Peterson, Report III, pp. 157 ff; also PBC, pp. 53 f.

3 De, Sanskrit Poetics, Vol. I, pp. 171 f.

4 JRK, pp. 244 and 379.

5 Kane, Sāhityadarpaṇa, intro., p. 106; De, op. cit., p. 167; Krishnamachariar, Classical Sanskrit Literature, p. 198; Dhruva, Digdarśana (Guj.), p. 22. Mahāmahopādhyāya Vāsudeva Śāstri Abhyankar has given this date in the introduction to his edition of the Saṁketa, but the relevant verse mentioning the year of composition, which is found in the manuscripts, is not to be seen in his text. It appears that in his edition, he has omitted the Praśasti.

रस-वक्त्र-ग्रहाधीशवत्सरे मासि माधवे । काव्ये काव्यप्रकाशस्य संकेतोऽयं समर्थितः ॥[1]

Ordinarily, the word वक्त्र may be taken to mean 'one' and hence the scholars have interpreted रस-वक्त्र-ग्रहाधीश as "year 1216" V. S. But against this, there are certain historical facts, which lead us to interpret वक्त्र not as "one" but as "six" (mouths of Kārtikeya) or "four" (mouths of Brahman), and consequently, the year must be read as 1266 or 1246 V. S. (i) Firstly, Māṇikyacandra composed his Pārśvanāthacaritra in A. D. 1220 (V. S. 1276) at Devakūpaka or Dvīpa (modern Dīva, an island on the southern coast of Saurāṣṭra). He has mentioned the date as follows:—

६ ७ १२
रसर्षि-रविसंख्यायां समायां दीपपर्वणि । समर्थितमिदं वेलाकूले श्रीदेवकूपके ॥[2]

Now, if the author wrote the Saṁketa, a fruit of his mature learning and ripe intelligence, in 1160 A. D., it is difficult to believe that he should have been fit enough to compose a Mahākāvya sixty years afterwards– in 1220 A. D.—if at all he could have lived so long. And therefore, it would be more natural to interpret वक्त्र as "six" (mouths of Kārtikeya) or "four" (mouths of Brahman), and believe the Saṁketa to have been composed in 1266 V. S. (1210 A. D.) or 1246 V. S. (1190 A. D.). This interpretation is supported by some old authorities, the references from which were supplied to me by Mr. Agarachand Nāhaṭā,[3] who has made a deep study of Śabdāṁkas (symbols for figures) occuring in the colophons of numerous works in Sanskrit and Prākrit literature, and who believes that the word गुहवक्त्र, गुहवदन or कुमारमुख which meant "six (mouths of Kārtikeya)" was shortened later on to वक्त्र, वदन or मुख, and still retained its original sense. It is interesting that nowhere in the treatises on Śabdāṁka the word मुख has been used in the sense of "one" (e. g. KKL, p. 144); either it is ब्रह्ममुख or गुहमुख. (ii) secondly, in the Praśasti of the Pārśvanāthacaritra we are told that the author had composed that work at the request of one Dehaḍa and his son pālhaṇa (who was also a poet) of the Śrīmālī community, the former being a son of Vardhamāna, who was a courtier of kings Kumārapāla and Ajayapāla of Aṇahilavāḍ Pāṭaṇ.[4] Kumārapāla died in 1174 A. D.,[5] and was succeeded by his nephew Ajayapāla, who was murdered by an attendent in 1177 A. D.[6] . Now, if Māṇikyacandra had written at the request of the son and the grandson of a courtier of Ajayapāla (the grandson,

1 PBC, p. 54.

2 Peterson, op. cit., p. 157.

3 (i) ऋतु जीवो रसो लेश्या द्रव्यश्च षट्कं स्वरम् । कुमारवदनं वर्णं शिलीमुखपदानि च ॥

–Gaṇitasāra of Mahavīrācārya

(ii) रसदर्शनर्तुतर्काः गुहवक्त्राणि षट् तथा ।

–from an old palm–leaf giving Śabdāṁka

(From Mr. Nāhaṭā's letter dated 15th May 1948)

In addition to these—

रसरागवज्रकोणः त्रिशिरो नेत्रांतराणि गुणतर्काः । दर्शनगुहमुखभूखंडचक्राणि स्युरिह षट्संख्या ॥

KKL, p. 145.

4 Peterson, op. cit.

5 BG, Vol. I, pt. I, p. 194.

6 Ibid, p. 195.

too, must have been of mature age, as he has been referred to by the author as प्रज्ञावता सत्कविपुङ्गवेन), it is evident that the date of his works should be considerably later than the reign of Ajayapāla. Apparently, that date must be nearer to 1220 A. D., the date of composition of the Pārśvanāthacaritra.

Māṇikyacandra's contact with Vastupāla

130. (iii) Thirdly, there is most trustworthy evidence to show that Māṇikyacandra had come in close touch with Vastupāla. According to the contemporary Prabandhāvali (1234 A. D.) of Jinabhadra[1] (para 117), Vastupāla once invited Māṇikyacandra at his place, when the latter was staying at Vaṭakūpa near Stambhatīrtha. Māṇikyacandra did not accept the invitation on account of some engagement.[2] Vastupāla, rather irritated at the pride of the scholar, sent to him a satirical verse, in which making a pun on the place-name Vaṭakūpa he called him a frog of the well. Māṇikyacandra retorted in an equally pungent manner. Then Vastupāla, through his men, got manuscripts and all other things removed from Māṇikyacandra's Upāśraya at Stambhatīrtha, and then the Ācārya came to him for making a complaint. Māṇikyacandra asked, "why should there be this trouble in my place, though you, the chief of the community, are living?" The minister smilingly replied, "because the reverend sir was not coming." And then the minister returned to Māṇikyacandra all his belongings and arranged a public welcome in his honour.[3] According to the same Prabandhāvali, Māṇikyacandra was also in touch with Yaśovīra, a friend and contemporary of Vastupāla (para 92)[4]. Now, if we take the date of the Saṁketa to be 1160 A. D., there would arise a gross anachronism, as probably Vastupāla was not even born in that year. The chronology becomes quite clear if we take the date 1210 or 1190 A. D., as suggested above.

131. It seems from the Prabandhas that though in the beginning the relations of Vastupāla and Māṇikyacandra were not sufficiently cordial, later on they came nearer, and Vastupāla gave considerable literary help to Māṇikyacandra by supplying to him manuscripts, etc. Prabandhas also quote several verses of Māṇikyacandra composed in Vastupāla's praise.[5]

MINOR POETS AND SCHOLARS

Madana and his rivalry with Harihara

132. In addition to the poets and scholars mentioned above, there were a number of others comparatively of minor importance, who came in touch

---

1 PPS, pp. 63 f.; also pp. 76 f.

2 According to the VC (VII. 99–113), Vastupāla invited Māṇikyacandra to join him in a pilgrimage, but the latter could not come, as he was engaged upon writing of his Saṁketa. He did not even care to depute any of his pupils.

3 According to the VC (VII. 113), Vastupāla gave Māṇikyacandra one copy of all the important works on different Śāstras from his library.

4 PPS, p. 50.

5 Ibid, pp. 64 and 77.

with Vastupāla and were patronized by him. The traditional accounts of such literary persons have been preserved in the Prabandhas, and we have a peep in the contemporary literary life when we make a search for their biographical details. Among such poets there was one Madana, who has been identified by Dr. Bhandarkar with a Digambara Madanakīrti, whose life has been described in the 14th chapter of the Prabandhakośa,[1] though we may say that there is scarcely any historical ground to do so, and that the identification of Madana with any well-known personality of that name is, really speaking, without any positive evidence. The Purātanaprabandhasaṁgraha notes that two great poets named Madana and Harihara (para 80–84) in Vastupāla's assembly were always at logger-head and they never ceased to annoy one another. Vastupāla had ordered the door-keeper that "when one is with me, the other should not be allowed to enter." But once when Harihara was having some literary discussions with Vastupāla, Madana went there, and said–

हरिहर परिहर गर्वं कविराजगजाङ्कुशो मदनः।

to which Harihara promptly retorted–

मदन विमुद्रय वदनं हरिहरचरितं स्मरातीतम् ॥

Then, to make an end of their controversy, Vastupāla said, "he will be considered a Mahākavi who composes one hundred verses at once". Madana at once composed a hundred verses describing a cocoanut, while Harihara could prepare only sixty. Harihara was told by Vastupāla that he was vanquished. Thereupon Harihara uttered a verse showing the difference between a large quantity of coarse garments prepared by a village-weaver and a precious cloth fit to be worn by the queens, suggesting thereby that in poetry quality is more important than quantity. Vastupāla, entertained by this, gave pleasure-gifts to both these poets.[2] The account given by the Purātanaprabandhasaṁgraha is supported by the Subhāṣitaratnakośa of Kṛṣṇa, as it has quoted the verses showing the poetic rivalry between Madana and Harihara.[3]

Pālhaṇaputra, Cācariyāka and others

133. There was a poet who called himself Pālhaṇaputra or son of Pālhaṇa, who composed in 1233 A. D. (V. S. 1289) Āburāsa, a poem in Apabhraṁśa, commemorating Vastupāla's building of temples on Ābu two years earlier. A scholar named Cācariyāka had come to Dhavalakka in the times of Vastupāla, and his speech was so instructive that Udayaprabhasūri was going incognito to hear him. Vastupāla presented him with two thousand drammas and honoured him in public.[4] Cācariyāka had a pupil named Haradeva, who had highly entertained the people of Āśāpallī (same as Karṇ-

1 Bhandarkar, Report IV, p. 77.

2 PPS, p. 77.

3 Bhandarkar, op. cit., p. 57.

4 PPS, p. 76.

āvatī on the site of modern Ahmedabad) by reciting the Rāmāyaṇa.[1] We are also told about two reciters of religious stories, both known as Pippalācārya, who had won a large prize in cash from Tejapāla and Anupamā by singing before them the life of Satī Candanabālā.[2] In addition to these, we get names of several other poets and bards—Yaśodhara of Vāmanasthalī,[3] Mādhava,[4] Kamalāditya of Kṛṣṇanagar,[5] Śaṁkarasvāmin,[6] Dāmodara,[7] Vikala,[8] Vairisiṁha of Prabhāsa Pāṭaṇ,[9] Jayantadeva or Jayadeva,[10] etc., who entertained Vastupāla with their poetic achievements and whose verses composed on various occasions—like a pilgrimage, a victory, a poetic assembly or a welcome—have been quoted in the Prabandhas. They were amply rewarded by their patron.

Vastupāla's family-members credited with poetic achievements

134. It would be interesting here to note that several family-members of Vastupāla are also credited with poetic achievements. Some verses are ascribed to Tejapāla,[11] the one recited by him at the time of welcoming Yaśovīra on Ābu being especially noteworthy.[12] Tejapāla's famous wife Anupamā, who was praised by the followers of the six systems as Ṣaḍdarśanamātā or the mother of six darśanas on account of her equal treatment of all in matters of giving donations, has been credited with the composition of a Kaṁkaṇakāvya ('a woman's poem ?'), which has been expressly mentioned as her own work.[13] Jayantasiṁha or Jaitrasiṁha, Vastupāla's son, who was also a patron of literature, as we have already seen (para 117 and 126), had uttered a verse at the death of his father, which has been quoted in more than one Prabandhas.[14] It is not to be wondered at if persons brought up in a literary atmosphere saturated with Sanskrit learning, though not poets themselves, could compose stray verses when moved on particular occasions. And in that way, there is no reason to doubt the statements found in the Prabandhas.

ANONYMOUS POETS

135. In addition to these, there were a number of poets whose names are not known, but whose verses in praise of Vastupāla on different occasions are

1 Ibid, p. 78,
2 Ibid, p. 75.
3 Ibid, p. 62.
4 Ibid, p. 62.
5 PK, p. 120.
6 VC, IV. 736, 737.
7 Ibid, VI. 81.
8 Ibid, VI. 364.
9 Ibid, VIII. 344.
10 PC, p. 103; UT, p. 76.
11 PPS, p. 70; PK, p. 120.
12 VC, VIII. 210.
13 PPS, p. 63. Also vide p. 70.
14 VC, VIII. 480.

quoted in the Prabandhas. The number of such laudatory verses available ascribed to anonymous poets would exceed perhaps one hundred, which shows that they were patronized by Vastupāla, and it is expressly mentioned that they were rewarded with large gifts. There were a number of Bhaṭṭas or bards and Cāraṇas among these poets, and some of them have praised their patron in Apabhraṁśa Dūhās[1]–Dūhā being the most widely current metre for literary compositions, especially of lyric and gnomic type, in the Apabhraṁśa and old western Rājasthānī literature.

1 PPS, pp. 63-64; UT, p. 79.

PART III

CONTRIBUTION TO SANSKRIT LITERATURE

CHAPTER VI

MAHĀKĀVYAS

136. After making a historical and biographical study of the literary circle of Vastupāla, we now come to the contribution which it made to Sanskrit literature. For that purpose, it is necessary to make a survey of the literary works extant composed by the poets and scholars in that circle. I propose to make that survey by classifying the literature according to form, and beginning with the Mahākāvya.

Characteristics of the Mahākāvya

137. The Mahākāvya (lit. 'great narrative poem')[1] along with the Nāṭaka or drama is decidedly the most popular form of Sanskrit literature and hundreds of poets from the days of Aśvaghoṣa or even before have attempted that form. Daṇḍin (circa. 600 A. D.), in his Kāvyādarśa, has described the characteristics of Mahākāvya in the following manner: "Composition in canto is a long poem (Mahākāvya) and its definition is being given (now). Its opening is a benediction, a salutation, or naming of the principal theme; it springs from a historical incident (Itihāsa-kathā) or is otherwise based upon some fact (Sadāśraya); it turns upon the fruition of the fourfold ends and its hero is clever and noble; by description of cities, oceans, mountains, seasons and risings of the moon or the sun; through sporting and love; through sentiments of love in separation and through marriages, by description of the birth and rise of princes, and likewise through state-counsel, embassy, advance, battle, and the hero's triumph; embellished; not too condensed, and pervaded all through with poetic sentiments and emotions, with cantos none too lengthy and having agreeable metres and well-formed joints, and in each case with an ending in a different metre, furnished; such a poem possessing good figures of speech wins the peoples' heart and endures longer than (even) a Kalpa".[2]

138. As mentioned in the above definition, a Mahākāvya is based on Itihāsa-kathā, that is, a story handed down traditionally; or otherwise, as Daṇḍin says, it may be Sadāśraya or based upon some real fact, that is, a historical incident in the modern sense. Most of the Mahākāvyas in Sanskrit literature are based upon mythological themes. It is in comparatively later times that one finds poems based upon incidents which can be looked upon as historical. Nevertheless the Indian literary taste was so much enchanted with the mythological heroes, whose lives made an appeal throughout the length and breadth of the whole of India that the

1 I am translating the word Mahākāvya in this way to distinguish it from the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, for which the word 'epic' may be reserved.

2 Kāvyādarśa, I. 14–19 (Belwalkar's translation, pp. 1 f.); for two other detailed definitions of the Mahākāvya, vide the Kāvyālaṁkāra of Rudraṭa, XVI. 7–18; and the Sāhityadarpaṇa, VI. 315–25.

Mahākāvyas having less widely known heroes of recent history could attain only a limited popularity in comparision with those based on mythology. Inspite of this general tendency, in certain parts of India like Gujarāt, a large number of Mahākāvyas based upon historical events and personalities were written and they were fairly popular. The historical Mahākāvyas of which we are going to make a survey, have predecessors in Gujarāt in such works as the two Dvyāśraya Mahākāvyas of Hemacandra (para 24) and successors in such works as the Dhārādhvaṁsa of Gaṇapati Vyāsa, referred to in the Praśasti of Nānāka (para 88), but not discovered as yet, the Kumārapālacarita Māhākāvya (1367 A. D.) of Jayasiṁhasūri, the Somasaubhāgya (1468 A. D.) of Pratiṣṭhāsoma, the Hīrasaubhāgya of Devavimala (17th century), and other works; and several Caritras can be conveniently included under this head. The contribution of the literary circle of Vastupāla in the domain of Mahākāvya consists of four historical Mahākāvyas and several others which are based either on Brahmanical or Jaina mythology. After making a historical and biographical study of Vastupāla and his literary circle, it would be more suitable to discuss these two types in separate sections, and to review the historical ones first.

Study of the classical models in Gujarāt

139. While reviewing these works, we have to bear in mind that we may not expect in them the first class poetry of the clasical period, but that does not mean that their achievements in literary skill are negligible, because they were a result of a competent study of the classical models. In mediaeval Gujarāt, there was a great scholastic activity going on, as I have already pointed out earlier, and the works of the great masters like those of Kālidāsa, Bhaṭṭi, Bhāravi, Māgha, and later on of Śrīharṣa, were being zealously studied and commented upon,[1] and these provided much mental food to the aspiring poets. Among the lovers of drama, the plays of Harṣa and the Anargharāghava of Murāri were very popular. However, the literary works which we are to study are not mere imitations of the great masters; rather they are inspired by the style, descriptions and subject-matter of the older poems, but have an individuality of their own, and in certain cases at least, we get poems which can be ranked among finest productions of mediaeval Sanskrit poetry.

SECTION I

HISTORICAL MAHĀKĀVYAS

The Kīrtikaumudī of Someśvara

140. Coming to the historical Mahākāvyas, we first take the Kīrtikaumudī of Someśvara, which, as we have seen, is the main source of information among the contemporary works for the history of the Vāghelās and also

1 For a number of commentaries on the Pañcakāvyas written in Gujarāt, vide BHV, vol. II, pp. 267 ff., 417 ff, and vol. III, pp 25 ff.

for the history of Vastupāla. It is a poem in nine cantos, comprising 722 verses in all. In the *first canto*, after saluting the four hands of Viṣṇu, which are like the four sentinels of Dharma, the poet pays his homage to God Śiva and goddess Sarasvatī. Then he praises the poets in general, and particularly has devoted separate stanzas to Valmīki, Vyāsa, Kālidāsa, Māgha, Bhāravi, Bāṇa, Dhanapāla, Bihlaṇa, Hemacandra, Nīlakaṇṭha and Prahlādana. Among the poets in the literary circle of Vastupāla, he has praised Naracandra, Vijayasena, Subhaṭa and Yaśovīra. After praising the good and having censured the wicked in a few verses the poet says that he has proceeded to write a poem about Vastupāla having observed his high birth, generosity, hospitality, good conduct, wisdom, mercy, justice and devotion towards him (i. e. the poet), and that his speech becomes, as if eager to sing the merits of Vastupāla (vv. 44–47). Then the poet gives a description of Aṇanilavāḍ, which though full of poetic embellishments, is sufficiently realistic to give an idea of the glories of that capital city of the Gujarāt kingdom. Among many other things, the poet has made a special mention of the lake Sahasraliṁga and Kīrtistambha on its bank (vv. 71–81).

141. The *second canto* gives the history of the kings of Gujarāt from Mūlarāja to Lavaṇaprasāda and his son Vīradhavala of Dhavalakka. It mentions Mūlarāja, Cāmuṇḍa, Vallabharāja, Durlabharāja, Bhīma, Karṇa, Jaysiṁha Sidhharājā, Kumārapāla, Ajayapāla, Mūlarāja II and Bhīma II, and describes their political career and warlike exploits in a few poetical lines (vv. 1–61), and comes to Dhavala, the first man of the Vāghelā dynasty and his son Arṇorāja, who tried his best to put the Caulukya kingdom of Gujarāt on a firm foundation. The treatment naturally becomes more detailed, when the poet comes to Arṇorāja's son Lavaṇaprasāda and grandson Vīradhavala, who had selected Vastupāla as their minister. Lavaṇaprasāda slew the lord of Naḍul. In his kingdom thieves were unknown. Only he carried away the glories of the hostile kings. His son, the illustrious Vīradhavala, resembled his father so closely that he reflected, as it were, his image in the mirror (vv. 67–77). Once Lavaṇaprasāda, waking up at day-break, sent for his purohita Someśvaradeva (the author himself) to inform him of the dream which he had seen during the night. The priest came, gave his blessings to the chief, and sat down on a mat. Then Lavaṇaprasāda, attended by his son Vīradhavala, began to narrate as follows (vv. 83–86)—"It seemed to me that I ascended the mountain of Śiva and worshipped the god, who visibly appeared before my eyes. Then as I finished my worship and became absorbed in holy meditation, I saw standing before me a moon-faced woman, beautiful like the Rākā (the goddess of the full-moon), dressed in white garments, annointed with white unguents, and holding a chaplet in her hands. Wondering, I asked her who she was and why she had come. Then she addressed me thus—'O hero, know that I am the royal fortune of the Gurjara kings, who is sorely tormented by the crowds of the enemies. Alas! those Gurjara princes are dead, who were able to destroy their foes, and in whose arms I used to rest. The young or foolish king who rules in their stead is

unable to subdue the armies of his enemies. His Mantrins and Māṇḍalikas possess neither wisdom nor valour. They even cast their lustful glances to me, though I am their lord's lawful wife. The Purohita Āmaśarman is dead, who used to protect me. Gone is the son of Muñjāla, who humbled rebellious Rājputs. Pratāpamalla of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa clan is no longer, who could not even bear the smell of the hostile elephants. My own people have brought me very low, all except one, namely Jagaddeva, who kept the enemy from entering the capital. No lights shine at night in the capital of the Gurjara land; it resounds with the howl of the jackal, its walls are broken. Therefore, do thou, together with thy son Vīradhavala rescue me and save'." And Lavaṇaprasāda continued, "After the goddess had spoken thus, she threw her garland on my neck and vanished together with my dream. Now, tell me what this means." Hereupon Someśvara addressed the chief, declared him to be the happiest of all Rājputs, since fortune wooed him of her own accord, and he exhorted him to accept the charge laid upon him and to engage able ministers (vv. 87–113)[1]

142. This allegorical description hints at the fact that Lavaṇaprasāda had taken into his hands the reign of Government at Aṇahilavāḍ to remove disorder and to protect the fortune of the king. The same allegory, with some alterations, additions and embellishments occurs in other contemporary works like the Sukṛtasaṁkīrtana and the Vasantavilāsa, and the later chronicles like the Prabandhakośa and the Vastupālacarita. The plain fact may be this that Lavaṇaprasāda and his son employed various tactics-fair and foul-to uproot the enemies of Bhīmadeva, and hence the chroniclers were obliged to justify all their actions in this way in the interests of the royal fortune of Gujarāt.

143. In the *third canto* the poet gives an account of Vastupāla's ancestors right onwards from Caṇḍapa and completes the genealogy mentioning Vastupāla's son Jaitrasiṁha and Tejapāla's son Lāvaṇyasiṁha (vv. 1–50). Lavaṇaprasāda was thinking of appointing able ministers, and he instantly called for Vastupāla and Tejapala, whom he held in high esteem, and expressed his desire to appoint them as his counsellors. Vastupāla accepted the offer and the chief gave the two brothers the charge of ministerial seal. The *fourth canto* says that after his appointment Vastupāla was sent to Stambhatīrtha, where he re-established order and overhauled the administration (para 49), and peace began to reign in the land, when Siṁhaṇa of Devagiri invaded Gnjarāt, but was repulsed by Lavaṇaprasāda. Śaṁkha of Lāṭa, who considered the port of Stambhatīrtha his own property, sent messenger to Vastupāla, and pressed the latter to accept his service. But Vastupāla gave a crushing rejoinder, and the messenger had to return. The *fifth canto* describes the fierce battle between Vastupāla and Śaṁkha, in which brave warriors on both the sides were killed, but in the end Śaṁkha of Bṛgukachha had to make a retreat with the remainder of his army. The *sixth canto* is mainly devoted to the festivities of the citizens of

1 IA, Vol. VI, p. 189.

Stambhatīrtha, elated with delight at Vastupāla's valour in fighting the imminent calamity. The houses were white-washed, the sounds of musical instruments were heard, the house-wives began to sing pleasant songs, special ceremonies were held in the temples, the high roads were decorated, and women wore costly attire (vv. 2–3). There was a festival in the temple of the goddess Ekallavīrā, and the minister with a small retinue went to salute the goddess, and the men and women flocked on the roads to have a glance at the victorious hero. After worshipping the goddess, the minister entered the pleasure-grove, and there at the noon-time he sat in a conference with the poets. Some poets admired his family, some his gifts, and others his virtuous character. The ears of Vastupāla, who was like Karṇa, were purified by the speech of the poets, and he in his turn delighted their hearts with his generosity. Thus being sprinkled by the nectar of poetry, Vastupāla spent the noon in summer season, in the garden in the company of the poets, and returned home in the evening (vv. 49–56).

144. The *seventh canto* is devoted to traditional description of moon-rise and love-sports, full of high poetic fancy. The *eighth canto* is styled the Parmārtha-vicāra or religious thought. After the morning bath, the minister worshipped the Tīrthaṁkara, and became deeply engrossed in religious thoughts, and decided to make a pilgrimage. The *ninth canto* is devoted to the description of the Saṁghayātrā. The pilgrim-caravan started on an auspicious day with numerous elephants, horses, bullocks, camels, chariots and all the important articles of daily use. A large number of servants were taken with the Saṁgha. Those who had no conveyance were given conveyance, those in need of money were given money, and those who required cloths were given cloths. The Saṁgha was given due reception in all the towns on the way. The men and women in the Saṁgha were singing religious songs, and worshipped the images of Jina in the temples in course of their travel. The minister reached the beautiful peak of Śatruñjaya, and worshipped with flowers the Yakṣa called Kapardin. There he built two imposing shrines of Neminātha and Pārśvanātha, and in the assembly-hall of the latter temple he put the equestrian statues of his ancestors, brothers and friends, and constructed a lake near the mountain (vv. 31–36). Staying there for two or three days (v. 37),[1] he went to the mountain Raivataka (Girnār), and entering the shrine of Neminātha, worhipped the deity with perfumes, so that the whole mountain became fragrant. Forgetting the worries of political affairs he spent there many days (v. 69), and then going to Prabhāsa Pāṭaṇ in Southern Saurāṣṭra saluted the Tīrthaṁkara Candraprabha and worshipped the God Somanātha with devotion, and then returned to his city Dhavalakka, giving donations to the supplicants. The women of

1 This statement is of particular interest, because the Jaina pilgrims never pass the night on the mountain now. The SS (VI. 43) informs us that Vastupāla's stay on the mountain lasted for eight days, which is also corroborated by the VC (IA, Vol. XXXI, p. 489 n.). In any case, it is certain that in those days the pilgrims used to spend several nights on the holy mountain.

the city flocked to see the minister, though they had seen him previously perhaps a hundred times. Having entered the town, Vastupāla touched the feet of his Indra-like master, and bade farewell to the people of the Saṁgha having given them a welcome (v. 77). And Someśvara completes his poem with a final benediction that Vastupāla, a great donor like Karṇa, may be ever-victorious, hearing the admiration of his fame, sung by the bards.(v. 78).

145. Thus the Kīrtikaumudī is a poem written to eulogize a contemporary hero, but at the same time it fulfils all the conditions laid down for the literary form of Mahākāvya. It is based upon the life of an actual person (Sadāśraya), and its hero is intelligent and noble (Caturodātta). The style of Someśvara in this poem is the easy and simple Vaidarbhī style, sufficiently elevated and grand at appropriate places; he seldom employs any śleṣas, and as a rule, he is free in this poem from the artificialities prevalent in the poetic art of his times. Clearly, the model of Someśvara is Kālidāsa, and at least one of his Mahākāvyas, viz. the Kīrtikaumudī, is such as can stand honourably with the famous specimens of Sanskrit poetry, composed after Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, and Māgha. In the first canto of the Surathotsava, he has expressed his fondness for Kālidāsa's poetry in the following words, "my intellect does not find pleasure in any other poem, when I think of the speech of Kālidāsa. Would ever the swarm of bees delight in the Sindhuvāra flower abandoning the heavenly Pārijāta ?"[1] This statement by the poet himself becomes significant, when we know that the autobiographical account of the royal glory in the Kīrtikaumudī (II) is an unmistakable reflection, if not imitation, of an almost similar account in the Raghuvaṁśa (XVI. 4-24) of the desolate city of Ayodhyā, requesting Kuśa to shift his capital back from Kuśāvatī to the parental town. A number of descriptions in the Kīrtikaumudī are of such high literary merit as can stand in comparison with some of the best specimens of Sanskrit poetry. The description of Aṇahilavāḍ, the lake Sahasraliṁga and the Kīrtistambha (I. 47 ff.); and lamentation of the royal glory of Gujarāt in her misery (II. 87 ff); welcome of Vastupāla in Stambhatīrtha, when he went to that city as a governor (II. 7-8), and festivities of the citizens when Śaṁkha was defeated (VI. 2 ff); the description of women hurrying to have a glance at Vastupāla (VI. 16 ff.), which is reminiscent of similar descriptions in Aśvaghoṣa, Kālidāsa and Bāṇa; the charming description of moon-rise (VII), and narration of the great Saṁghayātrā (IX)—are some instances in point. The short dialogue between Vastupāla and Lavaṇaprasāda (III. 59 ff.) is an illustration of forceful poetic dialogue, containing important discussion on politics, such as we find in the beginning of the Śiśupālavadha and the Kirātārjunīya.

146. It would be proper here to quote a few verses from the Kīrtikaumudī, which would give some idea of Someśvara's poetic art at its best; e.g. description of the Kīrtistambha in one verse–

यस्योच्चैः सरसस्तीरे राजते रजतोज्ज्वलः। कीर्त्तिस्तम्भो नभोगङ्गाप्रवाहोऽवतरन्निव ॥

(I. 75)

1 SU, I. 35.

And the pitiable condition of Aṇahilavāḍ in the reign of Bhīmadeva, as described by the Rājyalakṣmī:

मुण्डेव खण्डितनिरन्तरवृक्षखण्डा निष्कुण्डलेव दलितोज्ज्वलवृत्तवप्रा।
दूरादपास्तविषया विधवेव दैन्यमभ्येति गुर्जरधराधिपराजधानी ॥
(II. 104)

Someśvara's argument before Lavaṇaprasāda to appoint capable ministers:

इत्यङ्गजाः क्षितिभुजः श्रियमर्जयन्ति नीत्या समुन्नयति मन्त्रिजनः पुनस्तान्।
रत्नावलीं जलधयो जनयन्ति किन्तु संस्कारमत्र मणिकारगणः करोति ॥
(II. 113)

Vastupāla expresses readiness to accept the charge of ministership only if the king is willing to act justly in matters political:

पुरस्कृत्य न्यायं खलजनमनादृत्य सहजान्नरीन्निर्जित्य श्रीपतिचरितमाश्रित्य च यदि।
समुद्धर्तुं धात्रीमभिलषसि तत्त्वैष शिरसा धृतो देवादेशः स्फुटमपरथा स्वस्ति भवते ॥
(III. 77)

There is a powerful description of panic in the Gurjara land, when Siṁhaṇa attacked it:

श्रुतसिङ्घनसिंहनादप्रसरा गुर्जरराजराजधानी।
हरिणीव हरिन्मुखावलोकं चकितान्तःकरणा मुहुश्चकार ॥
गृहमारभते न कोऽपि कर्तुं कुरुते कोऽपि न संग्रहं कणानाम्।
स्थिरतां क्वचनापि नैति चेतः परचक्रागमशङ्कया प्रजानाम् ॥
अवधीरितधान्यसंचयानां बहुमानः शकटेषु मानवानाम्।
विपदामुदये हि दुर्निवारे शरणं चक्रभृदेव देहभाजाम् ॥
समुपैति यथा यथा समीपं रिपुराजध्वजिनी मदात्तदानीम्।
परतः परतस्तथा तथासौ जनता जातभयोच्चया प्रयाति ॥
(IV. 43–46)

Public festivities in Stambhatīrtha delineated in simple but expressive language–

गृहे गृहे धातुरसानुलेपाः समन्ततः स्वस्तिकपङ्क्तिमन्तः।
विरेजिरे तूर्यरवानुकूलाः कुलाङ्गनामङ्गलगीतयश्च ॥
बभूव देवेषु विशेषपूजा राजन्यमार्गेषु विशेषशोभा।
विशेषहर्षः पुरपूरुषेषु विशेषवेषश्च वधूजनेषु ॥
(VI. 2–3)

Beautiful poetic generalizations:

त्रैलोक्यदीपके देवे लोकान्तरमुपेयुषि। तमस्तान्तमभूद्विश्वं कः सुखी महदापदि ॥
गते भानौ स्थिते ध्वान्ते पद्मिन्या साधु मीलितम्। दुरीक्षा महतामापदसतामुन्नतिश्च यत् ॥
(VII. 15–16)

Some highly poetic fancies:

क्व गतः सविता ध्वान्तमेतदप्यागतं कुतः। एवं सविस्मयेव द्यौः स्फारतारमवैक्षत ॥
(VII. 19)

नीरन्ध्रेणान्धकारेण रोदसी संपुटीकृते। अथोद्घाटयितुं कोऽपि प्रवृत्त इव पूर्वतः ॥
(VII. 24)

रोहिणीरमणं वीक्ष्य रागादागतमन्तिके । सस्मितेव तदुद्योतदम्भादभवदिन्द्रदिक् ॥
(VII. 26)

आविर्बभूव पूर्वस्मादद्रेश्चन्द्रः शनैः शनैः । तदीयैस्तटमाणिक्यकिरणौघैरिवारुणः ॥
(VII. 28)

There is a realistic touch in comparing the emerald-studded ear-rings of the women with black letters in books written on palm-leaf, on account of similarity in colour:

ताडपत्रश्रिया न्यस्तनीलाश्मगणवर्णया । पुस्तिकेव चकास्ति स्म काचित् कामविपश्चितः ॥
(VII. 53)

A masterly description of the autumn, which shows that Someśvara was equally at home in composition in longer metres also:

स्वच्छं वारि निवारितामरधनुर्व्योम व्यपेताम्भसः पाथोदाः समदाः सितच्छदवधूराशाः सकाशाः पुरः ।
भाति स्म प्रश्रयवद्धंप्रथमिकां तेजस्विषूत्तेजितः श्यामाम्भोधरभस्मनेव शशभृद्दिक्कामिनीदर्पणः ॥
(VIII. 71)

Two out of several pithy sayings put in the mouth of Vastupāla before he starts on a pilgrimage:

पित्राद्यैरुपभुक्ता या पुत्राद्यैरपि भोज्यते । कामयन्ते न तां सन्तो ग्रामवेश्यामिव श्रियम् ॥
(VIII. 35)

अन्धा एव धनान्धाः स्युरिति सत्यं तथा हि ये । अन्योक्तेनाध्वना गच्छन्त्यन्यहस्तावलम्बिनः ॥
(VIII. 37)

And he comes to the conclusion that Dharma is the only support in life:

विधौ विध्यति सक्रोधे वर्म धर्मः शरीरिणाम् । स एव केवलं तस्मादस्माकं जायतां गतिः ॥
(VIII. 56)

Sukṛtasaṁkīrtana of Arisiṁha

147. Sukṛtasaṁkīrtana of Arisiṁha is another historical Mahākāvya, which also has for its theme the life and works of Vastupāla. As its name suggests, it has been composed for commemorating the good deeds of Vastupāla. Just as the Kīrtikaumudī puts comparatively more emphasis on the political side of Vastupāla's life, the Sukṛtasaṁkīrtana gives more space to his religious and public works. Thus the two poems supplement each other, and it is quite possible that they were written with the same end in view. The Sukṛtasaṁkīrtana has 11 cantos and 553 verses in all.

148. The *first canto* gives a genealogy of the kings of the Cāpotkaṭa or Cāvaḍā dynasty, which was the first ruling family at Aṇahilavāḍ, and a description of that city. It is worthy of note that out of a large number of historical poems written in Gujarāt during the Caulukya and the Vāghelā period, only the Sukṛtasaṁkīrtana of Arisiṁha and Sukṛtakīrtikallolinī of Udayaprabha have mentioned the Cāvaḍās, and even Hemacandra who made a regular attempt to write a history of his city has remained silent on this matter. It was probably because the Cāvaḍās were considered an unimportant dynasty

ruling over a small territory, though Vanarāja of the same clan was the founder of Aṇahilavāḍ. Arisiṁha has mentioned eight kings of the Cāvaḍā dynasty, viz. Vanarāja, Yogarāja, Ratnāditya, Vairisiṁha, Kṣemarāja, Cāmuṇḍa, Rāhaḍa and Bhūbhaṭa.[1] He has nothing particular to say about them except with reference to Vanarāja that he had built the temple of Pañcāsarā Pārśvanātha in Aṇahilavāḍ (I. 10), which was later on repaired by Vastupāla (XI. 2).[2] The *second canto* is devoted to description of the Caulukya dynasty, and beginning from Mūlarāja, the poet comes upto Bhīmadeva II, whom he describes as beset with worries, because his territories were usurped by his feudatories (II. 51). No more historical information is derived from it than what we obtain from the Kīrtikaumudī.

149. The *third canto* is styled Mantriprakāśa or appearance of ministers. If we compare the narrative given in this canto with that given by Someśvara in the second canto of the Kīrtikaumudī, a considerable difference can be marked. According to Someśvara's representation, a female figure symbolising, the fortune of kings of Gujarāt appeared in a dream to Lavaṇaprasāda, and called upon him to save the kingdom which had fallen into decay under the rule of Bhīma. Thereupon, obeying the command of the goddess, Lavaṇaprasāda and Vīradhavala took upon themselves the task of re-establishing the glory of Aṇahilavāḍ, and appointed Vastupāla and Tejapāla as their ministers. That is the simple story, when we reject the mythological additions, which Someśvara as a good court-poet was bound to have inserted. Arisiṁha has put the matter in a different manner. Kumārapāla (who, as we know, was a cousin of Arṇorāja, the first man of the Vāghelā clan) appeared to Bhīma in a dream in the form of a god (III. 1 ff.), and ordered him to appoint Lavaṇaprasāda as his Sarveśvara (III. 23), so that the latter may destory the enemies, and make him the lord of wealth. Bhīma in his assembly appointed Lavaṇaprasāda as Sarveśvara, and called Vīradhavala his Yuvarāj (III. 37–39).[3] Lavaṇaprasāda requested Bhīma that

1 The earliest inscriptional reference to the Cāvaḍās is to be found in the Vaḍnagar inscription of Kumārapāla dated V. S. 1208 (1152 A. D.). The earliest literary reference to the name of Vanarāja, founder of Aṇahilavāḍ, and first king of the Cāvaḍā dynasty, who ruled there, is in the Praśasti of an Apabhraṁśa work called Nemināhacariu composed by Haribhadrasūri (different from his famous name-sake mentioned in para 17) in V. S. 1216 i. e. 1160 A. D. (R. C. Parikh, Kāvyānuśāsana, intro., p. 103). There is considerable difference in the genealogy of the Cāvaḍā kings and their years of rule given in the later works, and the chronology of the Cāvaḍās has not been satisfactorily settled as yet. For a discussion of the problem, vide Bühler, IA, vol. XXXI, pp. 481 f., and R. C. Modi, Cāvaḍāonī Vaṁśāvali (Guj.) in the Proceedings and Transactions of the 7th Gujarati Literary Conference.

2 VC, VII. 66.

3 गृहाण विग्रहोद्यसर्वेश्वरपदं मम । युवराजोऽस्तु मे वीरधवलो धवलो गुणैः ॥
(SS, III. 39).

to do his task properly he must have a minister who may be proficient in the use of Śāstras (authoritative treatises) and the Śastra (use of arms), equally an adept in the replenishing of treasury and fighting battles (III. 43). The king, having thought for a while replied that he would readily lend the services of Vastupāla and Tejapāla, and ordered them to work as ministers of Vīradhavala (III. 44 ff.).[1]

150. Having thus described Vastupāla's promotion to political power, Arisiṁha comes to his Sukṛta or pious works in the *fourth canto.* Vīradhavala conquered, with the help of Vastupāla, 'the ocean-girt earth.' Then, on the advice of his brother, Vastupāla once decided to hear the preachings of his preceptor and to do the pious works according to his advice (IV. 14–26). At this juncture the poet gives the genealogy of the monks of the Nāgendra gachha, who from the time of Caṇḍapa served his family as spirtual preceptors—from Mahendrasūri to Vijayasenasūri (IV. 15–26). Vastupāla goes to Vijayasena and hears sermon. The Guru commends a pilgrimage as a meritorious deed (IV. 33–43), and consequently Vastupāla decides to lead a Saṁgha to Śatruñjaya and Girnār (IV. 44). The *fifth canto* describes the preparations for journey (v. 1–6), which can be compared with the description of the same tòpic in the Kīrtikaumudī (Canto IX). The poet says that physicians were also taken, carrying necessary medicines, so that the sick could be given assistance (v. 2–4). Vastupāla personally went to the monastaries and invited the monks respectfully to join the Saṁgha (v. 6). Names of some distinguished monks who tooks part in the pilgrimage are also mentioned. They are Naracandrasūri, Jinadattasūri of the Vāyaḍa gachha,[2] who was abode of arts, Śāntisūri of the Saṇḍeraka gachha,[3] and Vardhamānasūri,[4] 'the sun of the Gallakas'[5] (v. 10–13). The canto closes with the arrival of the Saṁgha at the foot of the mountain Śatruñjaya.

---

1 आहूय तौ स्वयं प्राह नमन्मौली सहोदरौ। युवां नरेन्द्रव्यापारपारावारैकपारगौ॥
कुरुतां मन्त्रितां वीरधवलस्य मदाकृते:।
(SS, III. 58–59).

2 Vide para 101, footnotes

3 Śāntisūri was the preceptor of minister Yaśovīra of Jābālipura (para 94). Installation-ceremonies of images in the temples built by Yaśovīra were performed by this Ācārya (PJLS, nos. I08–109).

4 Vardhamānasūri was an Ācārya of the Vṛdhha gachha (VC, VIII. 603). Vastupāla did a pilgrimage to Śaṁkheśvara in North Gnjarāt on hearing his sermon (VC, VII. 284–97). He is also mentioned in the PPS (pp. 68, 83, 95, 119).

5 The Gallakas seem to be a tribe or a caste of which Vardhamānasūri was a spiritual head (cf. स वर्धमानाभिधसूरिशेखरस्ततोऽचलद् गल्लकलोकभास्कर: (SS, V. 13). According to an inscription from Verāval in Saurāṣṭra dated Valabhī era 927(1246 A. D.), Śreṣṭhin Mūla, who belonged to the Gallaka community (Gallaka-Jātīya), had installed an image of Govardhana at Prabhās Pāṭaṇ (HIG, no. 250 A). Perhaps the word Gallaka may have some affinity with

151. The *sixth canto* is devoted to a conventional description of sunrise, and the *seventh* describes the ascent of the mountain and the festivities there in the next morning. After saluting the Yakṣa Kapardin, Vastupāla went to the main shrine of Ādinātha, where the pilgrims followed him. Vastupāla laid himself prostrate outside the shrine, and praised the Jina in a hymn (VII. 26–33). Then he entered the shrine after purifying himself amidst dances and songs, and washed the image with saffron-water, rubbed it with musk and put the flowers on it. After staying on the mountain for eight days the minister descended from it, and became eager to go to Girnār. The *eighth canto* describes how the minister made a pilgrimage to the shrine of Somanātha at Prabhās Pāṭaṇ, and to that of Neminātha on Girnār, where also he stayed for eight days. The *Ninth canto* describes the beauties of six seasons, which Vastupāla saw on the slope of the mountain, and thus adds to the poem a traditional feature required by the technical rules of the Mahākāvya.

152. The *tenth canto* describes the return journey of the Saṁgha from Girnār to Dhavalakka. After coming down from the mountain, Vastupāla feasted the pilgrims and distributed gifts among them. Then he went to Vāmanasthalī and made a solemn entry into the town, because formerly the Jaina pilgrims were prohibited to enter the place (X. 6), probably because of the opposition of Sāṁgaṇa and Cāmuṇḍa, the two brothers-in-law of Vīradhavala (para 52). When the pilgrim-caravan reached the vicinity of Dhavalakka, king Vīradhavala and a large number of citizens came to receive it. Vastupāla, with his brother Tejapāla and king Vīradhavala, "like Śiva in the form of Tripuruṣa" (X. 11), entered the town amidst praises of bards (X. 14–29) and passionate expressions of joy by the women (X. 31–42).

153. The *eleventh canto* is devoted to the good deeds of Vastupāla, and that is perhaps the principal part of the work, judging from its title. It says in the beginning that immediately after Vastupāla was appointed the governor of Stambhatīrtha, he began to build temples, which were like the embodiments of his fame on the earth. The canto enumerates (vv. 2–34) forty-three buildings, restorations and institutions of different kinds. The actual list of Vastupāla's public works must have been still larger, because the Sukṛtasaṁkīrtana was composed before 1231 A. D. (para 98), and could not have mentioned works undertaken or carried out after that date. Arisiṁha has given the list in a classified manner, taking note of the public works in different towns, one by one. He mentions the temples, tanks and other structures built and restored in Aṇahilavāḍ, Stam-

the Canarese and Telugu word Golla, meaning 'a shepherd'. In the commentaries on the Jaina canonical works we have frequent references to the Golladeśa, and at one place, we are informed that the famous Cāṇakya was born in a village called Caṇaka in that country (Abhidhāna-Rājendra, vol. II, p. 1011). But we have hardly any evidence to decide the exact location of that region. It is possible that the Gallaka community may have been originally from that country.

bhatīrtha, Dhavalakka, Śatruñjaya, Pādalipatapura or Pālitāṇā at the foot of Śatruñjaya, Arkapālita or Aṁkevāliā, Ujjayanta or Girnār, Stambhana or Thāmaṇā in the Kaira district, Darbhāvatī or Ḍabhoi near Baroda, and Ābu.[1] The list mentions the restoration and decoration of a number of Brāhmanical temples too, thus throwing light on the catholicity of outlook of this great philanthrophist. In the end, the poet expresses his inability to speak adequately of the vast number of Vastupāla's public works, and completes the poem with a eulogy of his fame.

154. The Sukṛtasaṁkīrtana cannot bear comparision with the Kīrtikaumudī from the literary point of view. However, the poet is a good versifier, and has to his credit some good descriptions and pleasing Śabdālaṁkāras, which may be the result of his study of Alaṁkāra Śāstra. The description of Aṇahilavāḍ, which is more imaginary than actual (I. 10ff.), the appearance of Kumārapāla in Bhīmadeva's dream and his exhortation to the latter (III. 1 ff), and rising of dust an account of going forth of the Saṁgha (V. 22 ff); beautiful descriptions of the moon-rise (VI) and the six seasons (IX), full of charming alliterations-are some of Arisiṁha's notable achievements. The dance of the Śrāvaka ladies in the beginning of the sixth canto is nothing but the Garabā dance still prevalent in Gujarāt, and gives a characteristic local touch to the composition–

जिनमहमहिमानं प्रत्यदीयन्त दूरादथ वलयितवृन्दं रासकाः श्राविकाभिः।
तनुसदननिषण्णक्रूरकाकोलकालस्फुरितदुरितजालत्रासकृत्तारतालम् ॥ (VI. 1)

And description of moon-rise in the same canto:

विरहशिखिसमीरः कामनासीरवीरस्तिमिरतरुकुठारः पूर्वदिक्तारहारः।
गगनगजनिषादी कामिनीचक्रवादी सितरुचिरुदितोऽयं वर्धयन् वार्धितोयम् ॥ (VI. 16)

Two verses full of charming alliterations describing the beauties of spring:

स्मितसरोजमुखीमुखवासनासुरभिमद्यविशेषितसौरभम्।
परिहृतापरवल्लिमधुव्रतीधवकुलं बकुलं प्रति धावति ॥
सुमनसां त्वमसि स्थितिभूस्त्वया जयति विश्वमसौ कुसुमायुधः।
मधुमितीह रसालरसालसा पिकवयः कवयः कवयन्त्यमी ॥ (IX. 5–6).

The Vasantavilāsa of Bālacandra

155. Now we come to the Vasantavilāsa Mahākāvya of Bālacandra, which as pointed out earlier (para 40 and 125), describes the life of Vastupāla. The poem is divided into 14 cantos, and contains 1021 verses in all. At the end of each canto the poet has given one verse in praise of Jaitrasiṁha, Vastupāla's son, at whose instance he had composed his work (vide para 125).

156. In the *first canto*. after praising the good and censuring the wicked, and dwelling at length on the nectar of poetry, the poet has given his personal history and has described how he was favoured by Sarasvatī. Introducing his hero, he justifies the choice of his subject-matter by saying

---

1 For details of the public works mentioned in SS, and a comparision of the details with the information derived from other sources, vide Bühler, IA, vol. XXXI, pp. 491 ff.

that "those qualities which resided in Nala, Rāma and Yudhiṣṭhira are now-a-days seen in Vastupāla, and hence I sing of him" (I. 76). The *second canto* is devoted to a description of Aṇahillapura, its big gold-knobbed temples, its palace-like buildings, its magnificent fort and the ditch around it, and the Durlabharāja tank. In the *third canto* we are given a history of the kings of Gujarāt from Mūlarāja to Bhīmadeva II, which can be compared with that in the Kīrtikaumudī and the Sukṛtasaṁkīrtana. Valour of Vīradhavala and his ancestors in protecting the state of Gujarāt from anarchy has been praised (III. 37–50). Fortune of the Gurjara kingdom appears in Vīradhavala's dream and entreats him to protect her from her sorry plight under the weak rule of Bhīmadeva, and advises him to appoint Vastupāla and Tejapāla as ministers to help him for attaining that end (III. 51–64). It is evident that the whole thing is a direct adaptation of the episode described in the Kīrtikaumudī (para 141.)

157. The *fourth canto* describes in hyperbolic terms the high merits of both the ministers, and ends with the appointment of Vastupāla as the governor of Stambhatīrtha. The *fifth canto* narrates Vastupāla's fight with Śaṁkha, and the defeat of the latter, whose precipitate flight back to Bṛgukachha has been suggested by saying that 'he took his breath only after he reached his native town' (IV. 109). The canto ends with a description of festivities in Stambhatīrtha to commemorate the defeat of the aggressor (IV. 110–11). The three cantos which follow are devoted to traditional descriptions. The *sixth canto* describes the six seasons, the *seventh* is devoted to the descriptions of collection of flowers, pleasures of swinging and the water-sports; and the *eighth canto* to the descriptions of love-sports, and moon-rise.

158. The *ninth canto* says that when Vastupāla went to sleep at night he saw a dream. Dharma, who had only one leg left came to him, and told that he was four-legged in the Kṛtayuga, three-legged in the Tretā, two-legged in the Dvāpara and one-legged in the present Kali age. Dharma says further, "kings Mūlarāja and Sidhharāja propagated me by making pilgrimage to Somanātha; Sidhharāja built a great temple called the Rājavihāra which was like my pleasure-mountain, and gave twelve villages to the holy place of Śatruñjaya to increase my splendour. Gone is that king and also his mother Mayaṇalladevī, who abolished the tax on the pilgrims to Somanātha, which was being collected at Bāhulod (modern Bhoḷād near Dholkā), and instead provided them with food and drink. Kumārapāla made pilgrimage to Śatruñjaya and Girnār, and built many temples. He repaired the shrines of Kedāra and Someśvara, which were like two horns of mine, described as Vṛṣa (bull). Kumārapāla also repaired the temple of Mūleśvara Mahādeva, built by Mūlarāja at Maṇḍalī. But now that old splendour is gone. Where should the adherents of different schools of philosophy go? I have described only a part of the whole calamity. O great minister! Do act in a way that may remove the affliction of my mind". While Dharma spoke thus, Vastupāla was aroused from his slumber (IX. 1–34). The rest of the canto (IX. 35–60) is devoted to the songs of Vaitālikas, which praise Vastupāla in a poetic language

and describe sunrise at the same time. Coming of Dharma in Vastupāla's dream is a notable feature in this poem. Nowhere else in Jaina literature or mythology Dharma is represented as a bull, who has been left with only one leg in the Kali age. We find this type of description in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (I. ch. 16–17), which may have influenced Bālacandra to a certain extent. The Naiṣadhīyacarita (I. 7) also refers to Dharma having four legs in the Kṛtayuga. There was an intimate cultural contact between the Brāhmanical and Jaina scholars at the courts of Aṇahilavāḍ and Dhavalakka, and there is nothing to be wondered at if Bālacandra, who was a Brāhmin before he became a Jaina ascetic (para 124), takes this motif from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, and makes its poetic application while delineating the life of Vastupāla. Moreover, we may compare here the songs of Vaitālikas at the end of canto IX with at least two such descriptions from Sanskrit literature—one from the Raghuvaṁśa (V. 65–76) and the other from the Naiṣadha (XIX), in which while arousing Aja and Nala, respectively, from slumber, the Vaitālikas describe sun-rise at length. The songs of the Vaitālikas in the S'iśupālavadha (XI), while they arouse Kṛṣṇa from sleep, also may be compared.

159. *Cantos ten to thirteen* describe at length Vastupāla's pilgrimage, which does not materially differ from the account given in the Kīrtikaumudī and the Sukṛtasaṁkīrtana. In the *fourteenth* canto the poet says that the number of religious places, temples, resting houses, dwelling places for the Brāhmins, and tanks built by Vastupāla at various towns, villages and moutains is so great that it baffles the attempt of poets to count it, like stars in the heaven (XIV. 9–10). Then follows an allegory describing Vastupāla's death, which is of particular interest, because it is not to be found anywhere else: "Once, the old Age, the messenger of Dharma, told Vastupāla that Sadgati (felicity), daughter of Dharma, was longing for him and her parents had decided to marry her to him. Absorbed in her thoughts, Vastupāla was attacked with fever of love, and resolved to go to Śatruñjaya to marry her. This resolve was brought to the notice of Dharma by his servant Āyurbandha or limit of life. Dharma was pleased with the errand and fixing the time for marriage, sent his messenger Sadbodha or good knowledge. The messenger told Vastupāla that Dharma called him on mt. Śatruñjaya for marriage in the morning of sunday, the fifth day of the bright half of Māgha, in saṁvat 1296. Vastupāla called his son Jaitrasiṁha, his wife Lalitādevī, and his brother Tejapāla, and gave them instructions and advice for their guidance. After seeing the king, he set forth for Śatruñjaya. He ascended the hill, and on the day of the marriage the temple of Ādinātha was profusely decorated. Dharma gave his daughter to Vastupāla before Ādinātha, and then took him to heaven, where he was received with exultation by the Lord of heaven".[1] It is quite possible that the poet may have been inspired in preparing this allegory by the Moharājaparājaya of Yaśaḥpāla,

1 Dalal, intro. to the VV, p. IV.

describing Kumārapāla's marriage to Kṛpāsundarī, the daughter of king Vivekacandra (para 32).

160. Aparājita Kavi has described Bālacandra as 'an adept in the Vaidarbhī style, and spoken very highly of his poetic capacities (see the verse quoted in the beginning of para 123). We may say that the praise is not underserved, because though the life of Vastupāla was made the subject of a Mahākāvya by two previous poets like Someśvara and Arisiṁha, Bālacandra has acquitted himself quite worthily in writing a third one on the same theme. His language is imbued with a distinct poetic fervour, which gives an imprint of personality to his compositions. His descriptions, though generally long and elaborate, are charming and full of vivid images. Description of Sarasvatī appearing in the poet's Yoganidrā (I. 58–70); description of Aṇahilavāḍ (II), which is a fine blending of the actual with the imaginative; short but striking description of the port of Stambhatīrtha (III. 17–23); realistic description of the battle with Śaṁkha, which refers to the actual historical participants in the combat (V) – can be cited as some of the illustrations.

161. A verse put in the mouth of Vastupāla on the eve of his ministerial appointment is a charming example of Śleṣa—

अत्यर्थमर्थमुपढौकितमाद्रियन्ते तं च प्रभूतगुणितं पुनरर्पयन्ति ।
न्यस्ताः पदे समुचिते गमिताश्च मैत्रीं शब्दाः कवेरिव नृपस्य नियोगिनः स्युः ॥
(III. 79)

And the following verse addressed to the king reminds a similar one in the Kīrtikaumudī (III. 77) quoted on p. 93—

न्यायं यदि स्पृशसि लोभमपाकरोषि कर्णेजपानपधिनोपि शर्म तनोषि ।
सुस्वामिनस्तव धृतः शिरसा निदेशस्तन्नूनमेष मयकाऽपरथाऽस्तु भद्रम् ॥
(III. 80)

Crushing rejoinder to the messenger of Śaṁkha, who suggested Vastupāla to come in the former's service—

क्षत्रियाः समरकेलिरहस्यं जानते न वणिजो भ्रम एषः ।
अम्बडो वणिगपि प्रधने किं मल्लिकार्जुननृपं न जघान ॥
दूत रे वणिगहं रणहट्टे विश्रुतोऽसितुलया कलयामि ।
मौलिभाण्डपटलानि रिपूणां स्वर्गवेतनमथो वितरामि ॥
(IV. 42–43)

A fine poetic fancy—

यौवनं चलमुपैति नो गतं विग्रहैरलमुपास्यतां प्रियः ।
इत्यवोचदिव झङ्कृतैर्वधूपादयोरभिनिपत्य नूपुरः ॥
(VIII. 45)

Description of meeting of river Sarasvatī and the ocean at Somanātha Pāṭaṇ—

सरस्वतीवारिधिवीचिहस्तसञ्चारितैर्यस्य पुरः पुरस्य
परस्पराश्लेषविभेदवद्भिश्चामर्यमाचर्यत फेनकूटैः ॥
तीरस्फुटन्नीरकदम्बकेन बहिः सदा गर्जति यत्र वार्द्धौ ।
वृथैव सोमेशपिनाकिनोऽग्रे त्रिर्धूपवेलापटहप्रपञ्चः ॥
(XI. 33–34

The Dharmābhyudaya or Saṁghapaticarita of Udayaprabhasūri

162. The Dharmābhyudaya or Saṁghapaticarita of Udayaprabhasūri is another Kāvya in which we find Vastupāla as a character. I have taken it last in this section on the historical Mahākāvyas, because only its two cantos–first and last–contain matter which is historical, while the rest is devoted to Dharmakathās based on Jaina mythology. The Dharmābhyudaya is divided into 15 cantos and at the end of each canto a few laudatory verses in praise of Vastupāla are appended, the Granthāgra of the whole work being 5041 ślokas.

163. The *first canto* begins with salutation to Jina, and then praises the knowledge, scholarship and poetic merits of Gautama, the disciple of Mahāvīra, Haribhadra, Sidhhasena Divākara, Hemacandra, Naracandra and Vijayasena; speaks about the greatness of the Saṁgha or the four-fold Jaina community comprising the Sādhu, Sādhvī, Śrāvaka and Śrāvikā and eulogizes the greatness of Vastupāla. After this the poet has mentioned in one verse (I. 17) the name of his work, and given the genealogy of his spiritual preceptors (I. 18–25), right upto Vijayasenasūri. Then Vastupāla is described as going to Vijayasena to hear religious instruction. The teacher tells him about three kinds of Prabhāvanā Dharma, viz. Aṣṭāhnikā festival, Rathayātrā and Saṁghayātrā, and instructs about the ceremonials to be observed while doing the Saṁghayātrā (I. 48–106).

164. Then the Ācārya narrates to Vastupāla several Dharmakathās to illustrate the religious merits to be attained by doing good to others, observing celibacy and being merciful to other creatures. Cantos II–XIV are devoted to such Kathās taken from the Jaina mythology. Cantos II–VI describe the life of the first Tīrthaṁkara Ṛṣabhadeva or Ādinātha and also of his sons Bharata and Bāhubali, ending with the Nirvāṇa of Bharata. The *sixth canto* gives a history of the Yakṣa Kapardin, the guardian deity of Śatruñjaya, and dilates on the greatness of the temple built there by Bharata and later on repaired by great men of the past, like Sagara Cakravartin, Rāmacandra, Jāvaḍa, Śilāditya, and Āśuka and Bāhaḍa, ministers of Sidhharāja and Kumārapāla, respectively (VI. 67–83). This account, though in the nature of a digression, is quite suitable in a work, the ultimate aim of which is to describe a great pilgrimage to Śatruñjaya. The *eighth canto* contains a life of Jambusvāmin, who had taken the religious vow on the first night after marriage, having abandoned the eight beautiful wives, and the *ninth canto* gives the story of a prince Yugabāhu to eulogize the fruits of penance. The cantos X–XIV describe at great length the life of Neminātha, the 22nd Tīrthaṁkara, from his previous births upto his Nirvāṇa, the Granthāgra of these five cantos being 2142 ślokas. Contemporary history, again, comes into prominence in the *fifteenth canto*, which describes the pilgrimage thus inspired by the religious instructions of Vijayasenasūri. After the coming down of the Saṁgha from Śatruñjaya, two stations are mentioned which are not referred to by any Kāvya treated before–they are Ajāhara Nagara[1] and Koṭinagara

---

1 Ajāhara is at present a small village near Unā in Southern Saurāṣṭra.

(modern Koḍinār on the southern coast of Saurāṣṭra) (XV. 12). Verses 25–31 give a list of public works of Vastupāla, which is supported by other contemporary writings. At the end, the author gives a Praśasti supplying a genealogical list of the Ācāryas of the Nāgendra gachha, to which he belonged (vide para 111).

165. The poem has been characterized by the word Lakṣmī, occuring in the concluding verse of each canto, and has been called Lakṣmyaṁka in the colophons. To characterise their poems by words which were lofty and auspicious was a well-established convention among the Sanskrit and Prākrit poets, and in this connection I may point out that the Kirātārjunīya of Bhāravi is characterized by the word Lakṣmī, and Śiśupālavadha of Māgha by the word Śrī, the Setubandha of Pravarasena by Aṇurāya (skt. Anurāga), the Haravijaya of Ratnākara by Ratna, etc.

166. The Dharmābhyudaya is called a Mahākāvya in the colophons at the end of each canto;[1] we do not know if the colophons are from the pen of the author or from that of Vastupāla who copied it; but the contents of the work noted above would show that technically it cannot be called a Mahākāvya, as it does not conform to the rules laid down for such a composition. Really speaking, this is a Caritra or biographical account as its alternative title, viz. Saṁghapaticaritra, suggests. Among the Jainas there was a tradition of composing the Caritras of historical as well as mythological personages, in the simple Purāṇa style, the principal metre being the Anuṣṭup; such poems, including those comprising the lives of the Tīrthaṁkaras were sometimes called the Mahākāvyas, the title probably signifying the lives of the great or the compositions which can be considered great from religious point of view. We cannot say that such works were called Mahākāvyas through ignorance of the technique of the literary Mahākāvya, because the lives of Tīrthaṁkaras written by well-known scholars like Māṇikyacandra are called Mahākāvyas, though they do not conform to the rules laid down by Daṇḍin and others (para 182).

167. The Dharmābhyudaya is a collection of several Kathās including the lives of two Tīrthaṁkaras, and the bulk of it has been written in easy, flowing, but at the same time matter of fact style, which does not give much scope to long descriptions and other poetic luxuries. This style is affected in a number of Kathā-works written by the mediaeval Jaina authors both in Sanskrit and Prākrit, in which the aim is to narrate rather than to describe.[2]

SECTION II

MYTHOLOGICAL MAHĀKĀVYAS

The Surathotsava of Someśvara

168. In this section it will be convenient to treat first of the Surathotsava Mahākāvya of Someśvara, because though its theme has been taken from

1 e. g. इति श्रीविजयसेनसूरिशिष्यश्रीउदयप्रभसूरिविरचिते श्रीधर्माभ्युदयनाम्नि संघपतिचरिते लक्ष्म्यङ्के महाकाव्ये तीर्थयात्राविधिवर्णनो नाम प्रथमः सर्गः ॥

2 For an account of some such works, vide Hertel, On Narrative Literature of the Śvetāmbaras of Gujarāt.

mythology, it has a political and historical significance. It gives the story of king Suratha contained in the Saptaśatī or Devīmāhātmya in the Adhyāyas 81–93 of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, but presumably hints at the same time at political misfortune and re-establishment of the power of king Bhīmadeva II, as suggested before (para 48 and 75).

169. The Surathotsava is divided in 15 cantos containing 1082 verses in all. In the *first canto* the poet pays his homage to various deities, devoting the first five stanzas to Bhavānī or Durgā. He then renders his obeisance to him who "in the temple of his poem placed the image of the fame of Rāma" and to "the son of Satyavatī" as well as to their works, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata. Several other poets are also mentioned with admiration–Guṇāḍhya, the author of the Bṛhatkathā, Subandhu, Kālidāsa, Māgha and Murāri. In the words of Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, who has given an excellent summary of the Surathotsava in one of his reports, "the poet then devotes a good many stanzas to such general subjects as poetry, good men, wicked men, etc., and afterwards introduces his hero Suratha to his readers. The *first canto* ends with the mention of his Viśvavijaya or conquest of the world. At the beginning of the *second canto,* some of Suratha's counsellors are represented to have played into the hands of his enemies, who with their assistance vanquished him and deprived him of his kingdom. Suratha then betook himself to a forest, where he met a Muni or sage to whom he recounted his misfortunes. He advised him to have recourse to austere practices (tapas) in order to propitiate Bhavānī and narrated the glorious deeds of that goddess. Śumbha and Niśumbha had obtained from Brahmadeva the boon of freedom from death at the hands of any but a woman, and through the virtue of that boon they made themselves all-powerful and oppressed all creatures. The gods thereupon went to Brahmadeva and laid their complaints before him. Brahmadeva explained to them the nature of the boon the demon had received, and advised the gods to go to Umā or Bhavānī and entreat her to kill S'umbha. Thus ends the *third canto.*

170. "The Gods then went to the Himālayas, a description of which in accordance with the orthodox rules of poetry constitutes the *fourth canto.* A description of the seasons, all of which came to wait upon the gods in the course of their march, follows in the *fifth,* and a description of moon-rise in the *sixth.* The *seventh canto* opens with a description of a sun-rise and then Bhavānī is represented as going out to gather flowers. Then she goes to the Gaṁgā to bathe, and as she is returning the gods see her from a distance and sing her praises. They then lay their complaints before her and implore her to kill the Daitya S'umbha. She allays their fears and promises to destroy the demon. In the *eighth canto,* Bhavānī transforms herself into a beautiful maiden and resides on a peak of the Himālayas. The report spreads that a beautiful maiden has appeared on the Himālayas, and reached the ears of S'umbha. He sends a person to propose to her a marriage with himself. Bhavānī tells the messenger that she has vowed that that man only shall be her husband who will fight with her while she is riding a lion.

The messenger goes back to S'umbha and informs him of this. S'umbha wonders at the woman's oddity and sends a demon of the name of Dhumralocana to induce her to give up what she called her vow, and, if she remained still obstinate, to use force and bring her away. Dhumralocana goes to Bhavānī and while about to execute his master's commands, he is reduced to ashes by the power of the goddess. Then in the *ninth canto* S'umbha is represented as marching against Umā in person with a large army; the fight between them is described in the *tenth*, and the death of S'umbha in the *eleventh.*

171. "Having heard of this glorious deed of Bhavānī from the mouth of the Muni, Suratha makes up his mind to propitiate her by the severest austerities. These are described in the *twelfth canto*; and in the *thirteenth*, Pārvatī sends a beautiful woman to test his firmness, but he is proof against her blandishments and goes on with his religious exercises. Then in the *fourteenth*, Bhavānī is pleased and manifests herself to Suratha; she pronounces a benediction, and promises his supreme sovereignty for a thousand years and the dignity of the eighth Manu, after the present or seventh is over, in a future life. In the meanwhile, such of the counsellors of Suratha as were faithful to him destroyed those who had acted as traitors and sent men in all directions to trace him out. One of them reached at last the forest where Suratha had been practising austerities and gave intelligence of his being there to the counsellors. They then went to the place with a large number of followers and conducted Suratha to his capital, where he enjoyed supreme sovereignty in accordance with the promise of Umā."[1] In the *fifteenth canto* Someśvara gives the history of his family and his own and at the end devotes a few verses to the praise of Vastupāla. I have already given a summary of this canto in the fifth chapter (para 69–71).

172. If Someśvara's Kīrtikaumudī is written in the Vaidarbhī style, his Surathotsava tries to affect the Gauḍī style, and his model there seems to be the Kirātārjunīya and Śiśupālavadha rather than the works of Kālidāsa. Though the language of the Surathotsava is simple in comparision with these two difficult masterpieces of Sanskrit poetry, it abounds in Śleṣas, in the use of rare and umcommon words and the Śabdālaṁkāras. The tenth canto, which describes the fight between the goddess and the demon is full of all kinds of Citrakāvyas, just like the 15th canto of the Kirātārjunīya and the 19th canto of the Śiśupālavadha, which are also devoted to the description of fight and contain the Citrakāvayas. It appears that there was a tradition among the writers of Mahākāvya, which delighted in describing the fights by means of various kinds of Citrakāvyas, though these were really speaking an obstacle to the proper depicting of the tumultuous and rapid action of a battle.

173. The poetic merits of the author of the Kīrtikaumudī are conspicuous even in this poem. Some of Someśvara's descriptions here are such as can be compared with the best ones in the Kīrtikaumudī. The description of God

1 Bhandarkar, Report IV, pp. 19–20

Brahman when the other gods wait upon him to present the account of their plight (III), and that of the grandeur of the Himālayas–full of alliterations and puns (IV)–in which the poet may have been inspired to some extent by the first canto of the Kumārasambhava, can be pointed out as illustrations. The cantos IV and X are also notable, which are devoted to the descriptions of the six seasons and battle-scenes, respectively,

174. I may quote here few verses illustrating Someśvara's poetic art in the Surathotsava. When Suratha, deserted by his ministers, enters the woodlands the poet gives a good example of Dhvanikāvya–

विशन् वनादेव वनान्तराणि सान्द्रद्रुमश्रेणिनिरन्तराणि ।
भाति स्म भिन्नाञ्जनसंनिभानि घनादिवेन्दुर्घनमण्डलानि ॥
(II. 18)

Though the poem generally follows the difficult poetic models of Bhāravī and Māgha, at some places we get a fine blending of simplicity and real poetry. As for example, spring in the description of six seasons–

कटाक्षिता कैरपि चुम्बिता परैः कृतोपभोगा मधुपैश्च कैश्चन ।
मधु क्षरन्ती विरराज माधवी नवीनरूपा गणिकेव कामिभिः ॥
(V. 10)

Autumn:

जलं प्रसन्नं जलदा निवर्तिताः प्रवर्तिताश्चाध्वनि साधुसैन्धवः ।
गदाधरः स्वापपरः प्रबोधितः शरद्दिनैर्निर्मलतोचितं कृतम् ॥
(V. 39)

Beginning of spring:

लभन्ते सौभाग्यं किमपि हरिणाङ्कस्य किरणाः
पिकाः शब्दायन्ते स्वगतममृतस्यन्दि च तदा ।
चलत्यद्य श्वो वा पवनपृतना चन्दनगिरे-
र्वामं कामस्य स्फुरति च शुभाशंसि नयनम् ॥
(V. 56)[1]

It is generally believed that there is no clear mention of glass-bangles in Sanskrit literature;[2] but it is noteworthy that VI. 105 expressly refers to glass-bangles worn by women—

का च काचवलयावलिशब्दैराजुहाव हृदयं दयितास्य ।

which shows that the ornament was fairly common in Gujarāt in the times of Someśvara.

---

1 This verse is also found in the UR, II. 31.

2 "I have not come across any definite reference in Sanskrit literature to the use of the glass-bangles, but I think that they began to be used sometime about 8th-9th contury, i. e. in the early mediaeval period. Their use seems to have been brought by the foreign tribes like the Hūṇas and the Gurjaras coming from Cental Asia"–Dr. V. S. Agrawala quoted by Prof. Gode, Journal of Oriental Studies, vol. I, p. 16.

It may be noted here that the word स्फटिक also sometimes has been taken in Sanskrit as meaning glass; as for example, स्फटिकवलय referred to in the Yaśastilaka of Somedeva (951 A. D.) has been translated by

The Naranārāyaṇānanda of Vastupāla

175. The Naranārāyaṇānanda is a Mahākāvya composed by Vastupāla. Its subject-matter is taken from the Vanaparvan of the Mahābhārata and it describes the friendship of Nara and Nārāyaṇa or Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa, their rambles in the Raivataka park and the carrying away of Kṛṣṇa's sister Subhadrā by Arjuna. The poetic model of the author is Māgha and to a certein extent Bhāravi. In the compositions of these two master-poets as well as in that of Vastupāla, the theme is taken from the Mahābhārata, the subject-matter is very scantly and large portions of the poems are taken up by conventional descriptions such as those of the city, the king and his court, the rise of the sun and the moon and gathering of flowers, and on certain occasions by lengthy dialogues All the three poets have affected a style, ornate and more artificial that artistic for the modern taste, though in this respect Vastupāla is comparatively simple than his predecessors. Like Bhāravi and Māgha, Vastupāla also has devoted one whole canto (XIV) to the description of a fight by means of various kinds of Citrakāvyas, and all the forty verses in that canto represent so many varieties of the Citrakāvyas, some of them very rare even in the realm of ornate Sanskrit poetry.

176. The Naranārāyaṇānanda is divided in 16 cantos, comprising 794 verses in all. It begins without any formal salutation to any deity, like the Kumārasambhava, the Kirātārjunīya, and the S'iśupālavadha and the Naiṣadha. The *first canto* describes the city of Dvārakā, the capital of Kṛṣṇa, and the *second* describes Kṛṣṇa's assembly and his coming there. Then the keeper of the Raivataka garden comes and presents him with flowers and informs that Arjuna is staying in the garden. Kṛṣṇa becomes eager to see his dear friend, and in the *third canto* he comes to the Raivataka and embraces Arjuna. Both the friends sit in a pleasure-grove and talk. The *fourth canto* describes the six seasons which simultaneously held their sway in the Raivataka, and then the moon rises as if to have a look at both these friends. The following three cantos (V-VII) are devoted to the descriptions of sun-set, moon-rise, drinking and love-sports, setting of the moon and the sun-rise. Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa spent the whole night in conversation. In the *eighth canto* Balabhadra, the brother of Kṛṣṇa goes to Raivataka, and the poet takes the opportunity to give a description of his army. The *cantos ninth and tenth* describe the flowers and the water-sports. Beautiful Subhadrā was seen by Arjuna as she was returning from her bath, and both were mutually attracted by love. Then Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa enter Dvāravatī. The *eleventh canto* describes Arjuna's pangs

---

Prof. Handiqui as meaning 'glass-bangle' (Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture, p. 123). It is difficult to say whether the meaning of the word स्फटिक was extended to denote glass as distinct from natural crystal, which is its usual meaning in Sanskrit. So our contention that the quotation from the Surathotsava contains the earliest indubitable reference so for discovered to glass-bangles under the name काचवलय still holds good.

of separation, when a lady messenger of love comes and informs him about Subhadrā's condition, who was equally love-smitten. Arjuna reads the love-letter sent by Subhadrā and sends a word to her that she should meet him in the Raivataka park. The *twelfth canto* describes Subhadrā going to Raivataka for worshipping Kāmadeva, when Arjuna carries her away. The watch-men inform Baladeva, who moved by anger taunts Kṛṣṇa about the behaviour of his dear friend, to which Kṛṣṇa replies that Arjuna is a worthy bridegroom for Subhadrā, and she is also deeply in love with him, and hence there was no cause for Baladeva to become angry. The *cantos thirteenth and fourteenth* describe the fierce battle between the Yādava army on the one hand and Arjuna on the other. But in the end Kṛṣṇa intervenes, stops the fight and takes Arjuna back to Dvārakā. The *fifteenth canto* describes the decorations and festive scenes in Dvārakā, and the marriage of Arjuna and Subhadrā. In the last and the *sixteenth canto* the poet gives an autobiographical account beginning from his ancestor Caṇḍapa, and ends the work with the following verse expressing humility:

उद्भास्वद्विश्वविद्यालयमयमनसः कोविदेन्द्रा वितन्द्रा
मन्त्री बद्धाञ्जलिर्वो विनयनतशिरा याचते वस्तुपालः ।
स्वल्पप्रज्ञाप्रबोधादपि सपदि मया कल्पितेऽस्मिन् प्रबन्धे
भूयो भूयोऽपि यूयं जनयत नयनक्षेपतो दोषमोषम् ॥

Some poet patronized by Vastupāla has appended one or two verses in his praise at the and of each canto. The number of such verses is 18 in all.

177. The Naranārāyaṇānanda appears to have established itself in the poetic world within a short time after its composition, as the sixth verse of its first canto is quoted in the Sūktimuktāvali of Jahlaṇa (vide para 64), and one more verse (XIV. 16) is to be found in the Kāvyakalpalatā (p. 103) of Amaracandrasūri. As we have seen, the bulk of the poem is taken up by conventional descriptions, but even there the poetic distinction does not remain concealed, and there are a number of poetic flashes which remind us of beautiful verses from Bhāravi and Māgha, and even the poem as a whole maintains a certain level, which is not to be commonly found in the authors of the Sanskrit Mahākāvyas during the mediaeval times. Suggesting beautifully the apparent contradictions in Kṛṣṇa's character the poet says:

पुपोष मित्राण्यपि निर्ममोऽसौ गतस्पृहो राज्यमपि प्रतेने ।
जघान शत्रूनपि शान्तचेताः प्रभुः प्रजैकार्थकृतावतारः ॥

(I. 42)

And the meeting of Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna in Raivataka after a very long time:

उरसि रसिकयोस्तयोः प्रमोदाद् दृढपरिरम्भविभिन्नभूषणेऽपि ।
द्रुतमतनुत तारहारलक्ष्मीं सितरुचिविच्छुरिताश्रुबिन्दुपङ्क्तिः ॥

(III. 11)

A fine fancy about the disappearance of darkness at the time of sunrise:

नक्तं निरंकुशतया कुशसूचिभेद्यो यः सर्वतस्त्रिभुवनेऽपि ममौ कथंचित् ।
माति स्म सोऽपि दृशि घूकविहङ्गमस्य भानोर्भयात् झगिति सङ्कुचितोऽन्धकारः ॥

(VII. 35)

The forceful warning of Baladeva to Arjuna when the latter was carrying away Subhadrā:

रे चौर यदि सौजन्यं तादृक्षमपि विस्मृतम् ।
तर्त्कि मे वामपादोऽपि विस्मृतोऽरिकपालभित् ॥
(XII. 37)

At another place, Subhadrā's braid of hair hanging on her breast is described as the Divya (or ordeal to decide guilt or otherwise of a suspect) called Ghaṭa-sarpa[1] of king cupid:

द्रुततरमपरस्या जालगर्भं गताया ललितलुलितवेणिः पीवरश्रीरुरोजे ।
शतमखसुतकायच्छाय चौर्यापवादादघटत घटसर्पो मन्मथस्येव दिव्यम् ॥
(XV. 21)

The Bālabhārata of Amaracandrasūri

178. The Bālabhārata of Amaracandrasūri is a sort of epitome, in its subject-matter, of the famous Mahābhārata, as its very name suggests. The author has called it a Mahākāvya, and being characterized by the word Vīra at the end of each canto, this poem as well as his Padmānanda Mahākāvya are known as Vīrāṁka. Like its prototype, the Bālabhārata is divided into 18 Parvans, each of which is further subdivided into one or more contos, the sum total being 44, including the last canto which gives the Praśasti. The Granthāgra of the whole work, as given in the last verse of the last canto is 6950 ślokas. The author has so arranged the work as to look like a Mahākāvya, adhering to certain technicalities laid down by the writers on poetics, though the subject-matter of the Mahābhārata is too bulky to be condensed in a single Mahākāvya. In the beginning of every canto except the last, the author has devoted one verse to the praise of Vyāsa, thus praising him 43 times in 43 verses, a fact which shows his great respect for the author of the original epic. The *seventh canto* of the Ādiparvan is devoted to the description of the spring and *cantos eight to eleven* to collection of flowers and water-sports, moon-rise, drinking and love-sports, etc. The *twelfth canto* gives a splendid description of the Khāṇḍava-forest, which was burnt by Arjuna. We find description of seasons in the *fourth canto* of the Sabhāparvan, and that of fights in the Droṇa and Bhīṣmaparvans. The author has depicted the sentiment of pathos in the Strīparvan, when the women of the Kaurava family are mourning the loss of their kith and kin.

179. But inspite of all these efforts to present the work as a Mahākāvya, it is more of an outline summary of the story of the Mahābhārata rather than a real Mahākāvya of the literary type. In compressing the original, Amaracandra has concentrated on the story-part of the Mahābhārata, almost omitting its didactic and religious matter. That is why the Parvans from the

---

1 In the ordeal Ghaṭasarpa a suspect was forced to put his hand in a pitcher in which there is a serpent. The PK (p. 125) informs us that king Vīsaladeva wished that Vastupāla should pass through that ordeal as the latter was suspected by him of mismanaging the state-revenue, but the king was checked by Lavaṇaprasāda, who was living at that time.

Ādi to the Udyoga are given a considerable space, while the Śānti and the Anuśāsana Parvans which are the main didactic and religious portions of the Mahābhārata are allotted only one canto each. The story of all the latter Parvans is also told very briefly. Though the work of a Jaina ascetic, the Bālabhārata was very well-known in the Brāhmanical literary world, and that popularity is to be accounted for by the fact that this poetical synopsis of the famous epic, though faithfully following the original, is an independent Kāvya at the same time.

The Padmānanda Mahākāvya of Amaracandrasūri

180. The Padmānanda Mahākāvya or Jinendracarita is another work of Amaracandra, which is midway between a Mahākāvya in the technical sense and a religious Caritra. The work has for its subject the mythical account of the first Jaina Tīrthaṁkara Ādinātha. It is divided into 19 cantos, and its Granthāgra is 6281 ślokas.[1] The religious Caritras generally prefer one principal metre, viz. Anuṣṭup, while this work has tried all the well-known metres of classical Sanskrit poetry in the style of the Mahākāvya and has devoted one whole canto (XI) to the description of the seasons. In addition to the life of Ādinātha, the hero, it includes a number of legends and anecdotes, religious and philosophical discourses and discussions, which reveal its character as a sectarian work. Inspite of the didactic material it does not lack poetic quality. The author, in this Kāvya, appears to be particularly fond of the Arthāntaranyāsas, and we find a number of verses which would be highly prized as Subhāṣitas.[2] The author shows a mastery over classical Sanskrit and its literary diction.

Caturviṁs'ati-Jinendra-Saṁkṣipta-Caritāni by Amaracandra

181. It would be apposite here to treat of the Caturviṁśati-Jinendra-Saṁkṣipta-Caritāni, though it is neither a Mahākāvya nor a long Caritra of one Tīrthaṁkara. If the Padmānanda Mahākāvya is an account of the first Jina, this work supplies short accounts of all the 24 Jinas, including the first, and as such forms as if an appendix to the former, though composed before it (para 106). It is divided into 24 chapters and comprises 1802 ślokas in all. The author has to treat of all the Jinas in a short space and naturally he does not get scope for any poetic luxuries. The main topics treated in every chapter, that is, in case of every Jina, may be outlined as under: (1) The previous birth or births, (2) the parentage, (3) explanation of the proper name given to the Tīrthaṁkara, (4) the days of entering the embryo, birth, renunciation and salvation, (5) the height of the Caitya-vṛkṣa, (6) the Parivāra consisting of the Gaṇadharas (apostles), male and female ascetics, those conversant with the 14 Pūrvas, those having the Avadhi-Jñāna and the Manaḥparyava-Jñāna, the Kevalins, those endowed with the Vaikriya-labdhi (power to

---

[1] JRK, p. 234.

[2] Vide Kapadia, intro. to the Padmānanda Mahākāvya, p. 15n., where a number of illustrations are given.

change the form of body), experts in polemics, the devoted house-holders of both sexes etc., and (7) the duration of life with the specification of the periods passed as a youth, a crown-prince, a ruler (where possible), a Chadmastha (one who is imperfect) and an omniscient being.[1]

The S'āntināthacaritra and Pārs'vanāthacaritra of Māṇikyacandra

182. Lastly, we come to the poetical compositions of Māṇikyacandra-viz. his S'āntināthacaritra and Pārśvanāthacaritra, which are called Mahākāvyas in the colophons of the manuscript copies[2], according to the tradition among the Jainas which many a times referred to the religious Caritras as the Mahākāvyas, as mentioned before (para 166). S'āntinātha is the 16th Tīrthaṁkara, while Pārśvanātha is the 23rd, and the lives of these two Jinas along with those of several others, viz. Ādinātha, Neminātha and Mahāvīra, form the most popular literary themes for the Jaina poets, and a large number of poems both in Sanskrit and Prākrit have been written about these two Jinas.[3] Both the works are not printed as yet, and are available only in manuscript-form. The Śāntināthacaritra is divided into eight cantos and its Granthāgra is 5574 ślokas,[4] while the Pārśvanāthacaritra has nine cantos having the Granthāgra of 5278 ślokas.[5] The bulk of both the works is devoted to the previous births of Jinas (6 cantos in former work, while 4 cantos in the latter). The narrative of these poems generally follows the fifth and ninth Parvans of the Triṣaṣṭi-śalākāpuruṣacaritra of Hemacandra, which gave, respectively, the lives of these two Tīrthaṁkaras, and also the relevant portions of the Ādipurāṇa of Jinasena and Uttarapurāṇa of Guṇabhadra. Both the works are written in the simple Purāṇa style, the principal metre being Anuṣṭup, and the legend of these two Jinas forms the frame-work into which numerous stories, fables and fairy-tales are inserted in the manner so familiar in Indian narrative literature. In no way do the contents conform to the technical requirements of the Mahākāvya, but being the compositions of a renowned scholar like Māṇikyacandra these two works present good examples of Jaina narrative poetry.

---

1 Kapadia, op. cit, p. 36.

2 e. g. इत्याचार्यश्रीमाणिक्यचन्द्रविरचिते श्रीशान्तिनाथचरिते महाकाव्ये तपो-भावनाकथा-चक्रायुध-गणभृन्निर्वाणवर्णनो नाम अष्टमः सर्गः समाप्तः । (PBC, p. 205.)
Almost similar colophons mentioning the work as a Mahākāvya are also found at the end of each canto of the Pārśvanāthacaritra.

3 JRK, pp. 244–46 and 378–81.

4 Ibid, p. 380.

5 Ibid, p. 244–45.

CHAPTER VII

PLAYS

Characteristics of Sanskrit drama

183. Drama is another popular form of Sanskrit literature, which is considered to be the highest poetic achievement of Sanskrit authors. It can show a continuous history of more than twenty centuries, from the times of Aśvaghoṣa upto the most recent times. The earliest form of dramatic literature in India is represented by the Ṛgveda-dialogues between Saramā and Paṇi, Yama and Yamī, Viśvāmitra and the rivers, Pururavas and Urvaśī etc., the last one being the first version of the Pururavas-Urvaśī story, which forms the subject-matter of a famous play by Kālidāsa, viz. his Vikramorvaśīya. Oldest references to the acted drama are to be found in the Mahābhāṣya (about 120 B. C.), which mentions the performance of Kaṁsavadha or slaying of Kaṁsa and Balibandha or binding of Bali, two episodes from the life of Viṣṇu. From this and from several other references it is believed that the Sanskrit drama was developed in connection with the cult of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa, and that the earliest acted representations were, therefore, like the mysteries of the Christian middle ages.[1] That the drama had a rich and varied development in India is also attested by the fact that in addition to a large number of plays there are a number of elaborate treatises on dramaturgy and acting, the oldest being the Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata (circa 300 A. D.). The Sanskrit drama is generally divided into two varieties—Rūpaka and Uparūpaka. The Sāhityadarpaṇa of Viśvānātha (circa 1450 A.D.) divides the Rūpaka into ten varieties and the Uparūpaka into eighteen.

184. The number of acts in a play varies from one to ten. The variety known as Nāṭikā has four acts, while the minor dramatic types like Prahasana, Bhāṇa etc. have only one act. Every Sanskrit play begins with a prologue, which opens with Nāndī or benediction invoking the favour of God for the welfare of the audience. Then follows a dialogue between the Sūtradhāra or stage-manager and one or two actors, which gives some information about the play and its author, and introduces at the end, one of the characters of the plot in a particularly dramatic situation. The stage does not remain vacant until the end of the act and no change in locality takes place until then. Before a new act begins, sometimes an interlude known as the Viṣkambhaka or Praveśaka is inserted, which makes the audience aware of the events which occurred during the interval between the two acts, and mentally prepares them for the events which are to occur. The play closes with a Bharatavākya or the prayer for general prosperity and it is put in the mouth of one of the principal elderly characters of the play. The Sanskrit play is a mixed composition containing prose-dialogues and lyrical verses. The dialogues are sometimes very commonplace serving only to introduce lofty lyrical stanzas, which describe the scenes, situations or personalities or sometimes contain high

---

1 Macdonell, Sanskrit Literature, p. 347.

reflections. It is also well-known that different characters in a Sanskrit play speak different dialects according to their social position. Heroes, kings, Brāhmins, and other men of high social status speak Sanskrit, while Prākrit is spoken by women and also by men of lower social status. Even in case of Prākrit, its different sub-dialects are employed for those persons, according to the rules prescribed in the Nāṭyaśāstra. The story is always terminated happily, and there is no tragedy as such in Sanskrit drama. Not only that, nothing deeply tragic, e. g. death, is allowed to occur on the stage.[1] The texts on dramaturgy allow nothing very harsh or indecorous on the stage, and the audience never witnesses such things like the utterance of a curse, fighting, kissing, eating and sleeping.

185. Though the number of the extant Sanskrit plays can be counted by several hundreds, the best specimens which number not more than twenty, are from the pen of the ancient masters like Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, Śūdraka, Viśākhadatta, Harṣa and Bhavabhūti. Many of the later authors have taken some composition of one of these older writers as a model, and thus have more or less imitated the creations of a more vital dramatic tradition. Even when the creative period in the history of Sanskrit drama as well as literature in general came to an end by the early mediaeval times, the scholastic traditions were zealously maintained, and theory and practice of drama were being cultivated at the royal courts and under the patronage of the richer section of the society. As already pointed out in the first chapter, not only were a number of dramas composed and performed in Gujarāt of the Caulukya period, but Hemacandra also wrote on dramatic theory in the eighth chapter of his Kāvyānuśāsana and his pupil Rāmacandra, who was himself a dramatist, wrote the Nāṭyadarpaṇa, a voluminous work on dramaturgy. During the times of Vastupāla, i. e. in the later Caulukya period also this tradition continued, and we know about five plays composed by the poets in the literary circle of Vastupāla, out of which one, viz. the Kākutsthakeli of Narendraprabhasūri is not extant. We shall make here a critical survey of the remaining four.

The Ullāgharāghava of Someśvara

186. First we take the Ullāgharāghava of Someśvara, a play in eight acts, dramatizing the story of the Rāmāyaṇa. The only available manuscript of this very rare work, which has remained almost unknown to the students of the Sanskrit drama, is preserved in the Bombay Government collection of manuscripts deposited at the Bhandarkar Institute, Poona (no. 343 of 1884–86), and even in that, eleven folios in all (1–5, 18, 39, 40, 71, 73 and 87) are missing. Thus we miss the historically very important prologue in this manuscript, but I was fortunate enough to get that portion from a copy of the work made by the late Mr. T. M. Tripāṭhī of Bombay, who had taken down the whole of the Poona manuscript, but had supple-

1 Though this has been a general rule in the later Sanskrit drama, it appears that in earlier plays like the Urubhaṁga of Bhāsa, the convention was not observed, for we find Duryodhana dying on the stage in that short drama.

mented the missing section from some other manuscript, which I was unable to discover from his private collection.[1] The Granthāgra of the play is 2100 ślokas, as is noted in a later hand on the last folio of the Poona manuscript.

187. Looking to the contents of the play—in act I, after the Nāndī, Śatānanda, the Purohita of Janaka, refers to the grief of the king that his daughter Sītā will now be separated from him, that is, the play begins after the marriage of Rāma and Sītā. Daśaratha and his two sons and Sītā take Janaka's leave and start for their capital. After a while the chamberlain Haridatta informs how, on the way, angry Paraśurāma was pacified by Rāma, and Janaka goes to inform the inmates of the harem about this great success of his son-in-law. From a Viṣkambhaka in the beginning of act II, containing a dialogue between two servants, we know that Daśaratha has decided to install Rāma as the king and has called for his Purohita Vasiṣṭha. Then Rāma and Sītā, with the garden-keeper, move about the pleasure-garden and the pleasure-pond, and enjoy the beauty of the place. Meanwhile Daśaratha calls Rāma and bids him to remain ready to take charge of the onerous duties of state-affairs. It is the time of evening, and the stanzas of the Vaitālikas describing the evening twilight are heard from the back-ground. The chamberlain informs Daśaratha that queen Kaikeyī requests him to come to her place. Before going there, the king again tells Rāma to remain ready for the coronation-ceremony. In act III, from the conversation of two maid-servants it is inferred that Kaikeyī has decided to obtain two gifts from the king which the latter had promised her some time ago, and that one was the banishment of Rāma and the other was the coronation of Bharata in his place. Then Rāma drives in state to the palace, witnessing the festivities in the city, but coming to the residence of Kaikeyī, he and Sumantra find the old king vainly attempting to persuade the queen, so that she may not insist upon her demands. The king faints when he sees Rāma. At this juncture enter Kausalyā, Sumitrā and Sītā, and are stunned to know the turn which the events have taken. Angry Lakṣmaṇa enters with drawn bow, asking who is bold enough to banish Rāma. But Rāma pacifies him, and bidding farewell to all retires to the forest, and grief prevails in the whole kingdom.

188. The whole of act IV is utilized for supplying information regarding the events that occurred after the banishment of Rāma. The act is devoted to the aerial travel and conversation of two Gandharvas–Kumudāṁgada and his son Kanakacūḍa. We know that Daśaratha is dead; Bharata follows Rāma to Citrakūṭa, but there he is prevailed upon by Rāma to return to Ayodhyā for the protection of the people; Rāma has killed the demon Virādha; and in the end, he expresses a desire to go to the southern direction. Act V has a Viṣkambhaka in the beginning, in which the audience know from the soliloquy of Mārīca that Rāvaṇa wants to take his help in the abduction of Sītā and that the ears and nose of Śūrpaṇakhā were cut by Lakṣmaṇa and

1 For some quotations from the prologue of the Ullāgharāghava supplied by Mr. Tripāṭhī to Mr. C. D. Dalal, first general editor of the Gaekwad's Oriental series, vide the Vasant (Guj.), Vol. XIV, p. 191.

also that the demons residing in the Janasthāna were killed. Then enters Rāvaṇa and forcibly carries away Sītā. Jaṭāyu, king of the vultures, comes to Sītā's help, and fights with Rāvaṇa, but he is not successful, and from the speech of Ghorākṣa, Rāvaṇa's attendent, we know that Jaṭāyu is fatally wounded. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, not finding Sītā in the hut, start for her search, and know the details of her carrying away from Jaṭāyu. Jaṭāyu advises Rāma to go to the Pampāsaras in the south, where he will make friends with Sugrīva and other monkey-chiefs, and thus a suggestion is made as to how it will become possible for Rāma to attack Laṁkā. Act VI begins with the dialogues of three demons, viz. Mālyavān, Sāraṇa and Śūka, from which the audience know that Vāli was killed by Rāma and that Hanumān had burnt Laṁkā; Vibhiṣaṇa advised Rāvaṇa to return Sītā to Rāmā, but he was insulted and consequently went over to Rāma's camp. Then Aṁgada comes to Rāvaṇa's court for a peace-mission, but his mission fails and there follows an interchange of recriminations. The battle-cries of the monkeys are heard from the background. Rāvaṇa, from the terrace of his palace, takes a view of Rāma's army, and the chief warriors are pointed out to him by Śūka. In the same way Rāma and Vibhīṣaṇa see Rāvaṇa's army from the peak of mountain Suvela.

189. Almost the whole of act VII is a dialogue between Kāpaṭika, who was a spy of Lavaṇa, the lord Mathurā and a friend of Rāvaṇa, and a demon named Vṛkamukha. We know that Rāvaṇa has been killed, Sītā has come out pure from the fire and Vibhiṣaṇa is installed on the throne of Laṁkā. Kāpaṭika says that he would try his best still to create difficulties in the way of Rāma. In the end, Vibhiṣaṇa's voice is heard from the background requesting Rāma to sit in the aerial car Puṣpaka for going to Ayodhyā. Act VIII begins with the aerial journey of Rāma to Ayodhyā. Sītā asks him about various places coming on the way and he satisfies her curiosity. Kāpaṭika takes the guise of a young Muni, and hastily goes to Ayodhyā where the news of Rāvaṇa's death have not reached as yet. There he gives false information that Rāvaṇa in his aerial car is coming to attack Ayodhyā having killed both Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. The army is ordered to remain ready and Kausalyā and Sumitrā, struck with grief, prepare for burning themselves alive. At this juncture enters the aerial car, Bharata aims an arrow at Vibhiṣaṇa taking him to be an ally of Rāvaṇa, but Vasiṣṭha who knows everything checks him, and the plot of Kāpaṭika is found out. The concluding portion of the play (folio 87) is missing, but it can be easily surmised that it must have depicted the reunion of the family, and in the end there must have been a Bharatavākya in the mouth of Rāma. We may mention here that in the beginning of each act, except the first, the poet has put one verse in praise of Vastupāla, which speaks of his close association with the patron.

190. Thus the Ullāgharāghava is a long drawn out play, possibly having as its model the Anargharāghava of Murāri (before the 9th century A. D.), a play in seven acts. There is a series of Rāma-dramas, ending

with the word Rāghava, which seem to have some connection with one another. We are in darkness regarding the Udāttarāghava of Māyurāja, which is known only by reference,[1] and we are not able to say anything about its relation with the Anargharāghava of Murāri, who may either have succeeded him or preceded him. Murāri seems to have been imitated by Jayadeva (circa 1200 A. D.) in the Prasannarāghava,[2] which is also a Rāma-play in seven acts. Murāri's play was very popular in Sanskrit literature, at a time, and he has been spoken of very highly in anthologies, and a large number of commentaries were written on his play.[3] The play was zealously read and studied also in mediaeval Gujarāt, and Naracandra and his Guru Devaprabha,[4] both of them contemporaries of Vastupāla, have composed commentaries on it. A third commentary was written by Jinaharṣa in the 15th century.[5] And it is no wonder if Someśvara was influenced by it. Just as act IV of the Ullāgharāghava is entirely taken up by the dialogue of two Gandharvas, Kanakacūḍa and Kumudāṁgada, the later part of act VI of the Anargharāghava is similarly devoted to the talks between Ratnacūḍa and Hemāṁgada, who are also Gandharvas. These dialogues in both the plays serve the same purpose, viz. to inform the audience about the events that have already occurred. Dialogues of Mālyavān, Śūka and Sāraṇa are found almost in identical places in act VI in both the plays. VIII. 29-30 of the Ullāgharāghava are mere imitation of the VII. 97-98 of the Anargharāghava; and the whole of the act VIII in the former play seems to have been inspired by act VII of the latter, though here one may be tempted to say that the poet may have also seen the portions describing Rāma's return to Ayodhyā in canto XIII of the Raghuvaṁśa and act X of the Bālarāmāyaṇa of Rājaśekhara (circa 900 A. D.).

191. The Ullāgharāghava betrays some influence of the Abhijñāna-śākuntala. The scenes in which Sītā goes to Ayodhyā and the grief of Janaka at the separation from his dear daughter is expressed—are reminiscent of similar scenes in the fourth act of the great drama of Kālidāsa. When Someśvara wrote-

नवपरिणीता दुहिता गच्छन्ती पतिगृहाय बन्धूनाम् ।
परमार्थवेदिनामपि वैक्लव्यं विरचयत्येव ॥

(I. 10)

he must have in his mind the following half-verse from the Śakuntalā, put in Kaṇva's mouth-

1 Keith, Sanskrit Drama, pp. 223 ff.

2 Ibid, p. 226. The Unmattarāghava of Bhāskara Kavi of unknown date, though a one-act play, seems to have been influenced at least in its name by the plays like the Anargharāghava.

3 Krishnamachariar, Classical Sanskrit Literature, pp. 638 f.

4 PBC, p. 301; JRK, p. 7.

5 PBC, intro., p. 52.

वैक्लव्यं मम तावदीदृशमहो स्नेहादरण्यौकसः
पीड्यन्ते गृहिणः कथं न तनयाविश्लेषदुःखैर्नवैः ॥
(IV. 5)

And Śatānanda's instruction to Sītā–

शुश्रूषा श्वशुरे ननान्दृषु नतिः श्वश्रूषु यांजलिः (? बद्धांजलिः ?)
पत्यौ तत्परता सुनर्म च वचस्तन्मित्रवर्गे शुचौ ।
साङ्गत्यं कुलबालिकासु विनयः पूज्ये तनौ संवृति-
र्मार्गोऽयं मुनिपुङ्गवैर्मृगदृशां श्रेयः श्रिये दर्शितः ॥
(I. 21)

appears to have been based on the famous verse in the Śakuntalā spoken by Kaṇva, beginning with the words शुश्रूषस्व गुरून्० (IV. 17). In the second act of the Ullāgharāghava, Rāma protects Sītā from the bee which was attracted by the fragrance of her mouth and addresses him a verse भ्रातश्चके भ्रमर भवता० (II. 35), which is inspired by a similar scene in the first act of the Śakuntalā and the verse चलापाङ्गां दृष्टिं० (I. 20).

192. The Sanskrit drama was generally under the influence of the court, and though the audience was mixed, its worth was judged by the learned who were intent on discerning poetic beauties or defects. The result was that the poet attempted to introduce as many lyric verses as he could, and consequently the action and dialogues suffered. This process can be seen in full development in Murāri, Rājaśekhara and other later dramatists, in whom we find subordination of action to description, and the degeneration of the description into a mere exercise in style and in the use of alliteration.[1] We find these features also in Someśvara, he being the child of his age. At some places he has made the things too lengthy, e. g., whole of the fourth act is devoted to the long and tedious dialogues between two Gandharvas, the second act describes the beauties of the garden, and a part of the last act gives large number of verses in epic style about several geographical places from Laṁkā to Ayodhyā. This was partly due to the fact that the plays for their reputation depended largely on being read, not witnessed, however important it may have been for the poet to secure the honour of public performance.

193. But the merit of Someśvara's work lies in the fact that, though it exhibits all these characteristics of the later drama, prose as well as verses in it are written in an elegant and effective style, which has always marked his compositions, as we have seen before. He has tried to dramatize the whole of the Rāmāyaṇa, but has utilized his long and unwieldy subject-matter in a judicious way, as a result of which his acts generally do not degenerate into something like separate plays, as has happened in case of the Bālarāmāyaṇa of Rājaśekhara. A number of lyric verses can be cited as poetic achievements of Someśvara. Rāma being abashed at his praise for his valour before Paraśurāma, expresses exemplary modesty–

---

1 Keith, op. cit., p. 244.

भग्नं शैवं त्रिनयनधनु यन्मया दैवयोगात् यत्संजोढः शिशुरिति रणे रैणुकेयेन चाहम्।
लोकः प्रीत्या तदपि किल मे पौरुषं गायनाणो वार्यः कार्या न खलु महतां गर्हणा निर्निमित्तम्॥
(II. 9)

Jatukarṇa, a pupil of Vasiṣṭha, describes Daśaratha sitting with Rāma, comparing him with a great Banyan tree–

राजा राजत्यनेनायं सुतेनान्तिकवर्त्तिना। प्ररोहणात्मतुल्येन वटवृक्ष इवोन्नतः॥
(II. 44)

And Daśaratha, deeply aggrieved at the idea of Rāma's banishment, expresses his agony–

मातः क्षिते तपनतात विभो नभस्वन् सर्वं हि वित्थ तदिदं वदत प्रसह्य।
का दुर्दशेयमधुना मम वर्तते यन्मूर्च्छा तु गच्छति न गच्छति जीवितव्यम्॥
(III. 18)

Touching farewell of Rāma to Ayodhyā and its people–

भास्वद्गोत्रचरित्रचित्ररुचिरप्रासाद तुभ्यं नम-
स्त्वां वन्दे सुकृतानुरक्तजनतामेध्यामयोध्यां पुरीम्।
आपृच्छे पुरवासिनः सविनयं युष्मानिहायुष्मति
क्ष्माभारं भरते समुद्धरति च स्वस्त्यस्तु गच्छाम्यहम्॥
(III. 35)

And a charming description of the moon-rise–

ब्रह्मास्त्रं मन्मथस्य त्रिभुवनवनितामानमीनावकृष्टयै
कैवर्तः कैरवाणां प्रियसुहृदमृतस्रोतसां शैलराजः।
पान्थस्त्रीणामपथ्यं रथचरणचमूचक्रवालस्य कालः
शृङ्गारस्योपकारः किरति रतिमसावोषधीनामधीशः॥
(IV. 53)

Rāma's dejection when he knew that Sītā was carried away–

दृष्टिः स्पष्टं तटगतमपि वीक्षते नाश्रुमिश्रा
दूराह्वाने न हि पटुरयं बाष्पकुण्ठश्च कण्ठः।
पादद्वन्द्वं प्रचलितुमिदं न क्षमं मुह्यतो मे
तद्वैदेहीं क्वचिदन्विरयन् वत्स पश्य त्वमेव॥
(V. 40)

The Dūtāṁgada of Subhaṭa—a Chāyā Nāṭaka

194. The Dūtāṁgada of Subhaṭa is a brief one-act play depicting the peace-mission of Aṁgada to Rāvaṇa's court. It is interesting to note that the poet does not make claim to originality, but on the contrary says that he has borrowed from former poets.[1] A number of verses in this play have been traced to other works. The latter half of the first benedictory verse is quoted by Namisādhu (1069 A. D.) in his commentary on the Kāvyālaṁkāra (II. 8) of Rudraṭa. The fifth verse is found in the Hitopadeśa (circa 900 A. D.) and in several recensions of the Pañcatantra, while the ninth is quoted by Kṣemendra (11th century A. D.) in his Suvṛttatilaka (p. 13), ascribing it

1 स्वनिर्मितं किञ्चन गद्यपद्यबन्धं कियत् प्राक्तनसत्कवीन्द्रैः।
प्रोक्तं गृहीत्वा प्रविरच्यते स रसाढ्यमेतत्सुभटेन नाट्यम्॥ (last verse)

to Bhavabhūti. Moreover, Subhaṭa has taken a number of verses from the Bālarāmāyaṇa[1] of Rājaśekhara, and also from the Mahānāṭaka.[2] It is quite possible that a number of other verses also may be from the older poets.

195. In the beginning of the play we find that Aṁgada is appointed to go to the court of Rāvaṇa to demand the return of Sītā. Then enters Rāvaṇa, and with him his queen Mandodarī and brother Vibhīṣaṇa, who entreat him to make peace with Rāma, but Rāvaṇa gets enraged at the suggestion and drives away his brother. At this juncture the door-keeper announces the arrival of Aṁgada, and some heated conversation follows between Rāma's messenger and Rāvaṇa. Then enters the apparition of Sītā created by the Rākṣasa's magic, which sits on Rāvaṇa's lap, and Aṁgada is quite puzzled to see it. But the next moment two Rākṣasīs come, bringing the news that Sītā is trying to commit suicide hearing something untoward about Rāma, and Aṁgada is delighted to know that the form in Rāvaṇa's lap is not real Sītā. Rāvaṇa declines to hand back Sītā and Aṁgada returns after trying to impress upon him the power of Rāma; we learn shortly afterwards that Rāvaṇa has met his doom.

Interpretation of the word Chāyā Nāṭaka; Characteristics of the Chāyā Nāṭaka

196. The prose-portion in the play is very scanty, and the bulk of the play is taken up by verses, a number of which are borrowed material, as I have just pointed out. Poetic merits of the work are negligible, but it is important from another point of view, because it is called a Chāyā Nāṭaka or shadow-play in the prologue, and is one of the oldest available works among the Sanskrit plays to which the technical name Chāyā Nāṭaka is applied.[3] This type of drama is not mentioned in the list of Rūpakas and Uparūpakas, and we have to ask the question—what is meant by the Chāyā Nāṭaka? We get some clue to the characteristics of this type of drama from another play, viz. Dharmābhyudaya of Meghaprabhācārya, which is called a Chāyā Nāṭya Prabandha, and in which a definite stage-direction is found, to the effect that, when the king expresses his intention to become an ascetic, a puppet is to be placed inside the curtain in the attire of an ascetic (यवनिकान्तराद् यतिवेशधारी पुत्रकस्तत्र स्थापनीयः, p. 15). Unfortunately, the date of the Dharmābhyudaya cannot be finally settled, but it is certain that it was composed before 1217 A. D. (=1273 V. S.), because a palm-leaf manuscript of the work written in that year is preserved in the

1 Verses 46, 47, 51, 52, 53 and 54 are to be traced respectively to IX. 53, IX. 55, IX. 56, IX. 58, IX. 59 and X. 21 of the Bālarāmāyaṇa.

2 Keith, op. cit., p. 269 n.

3 Keith, op. cit., p. 55. It is interesting to note that the Ullāgharāghava of Someśvara has been called a Chāyā Nāṭaka in the colophon in the Poona manuscript at the end of the third act, as follows—इति श्रीकुमारसूनोः श्रीसोमेश्वरदेवस्य कृतावुल्लाघराघवे छायानाटके चतुर्थोऽङ्कः । Other acts have no colophons, and the play is not described as a Chāyā Nāṭaka in the prologue or the Praśasti; and this single reference remains only a matter of curiosity.

Saṁgha Bhāṇḍār at pāṭaṇ.[1] The play has taken as its theme the life of a Jaina sage named Daśārṇabhadra, it was acted in a temple of Pārśvanātha, as mentioned in the prologue, and its author was a Jaina Sādhu most probably from Gujarāt, as its manuscripts are found in Gujarāt.[2] Śamāmṛtam, delineating the life of Neminātha, by some unknown Jaina author from Gujarāt, is another short play which has been called a Chāyā Nāṭaka in the prologue (...भगवतः श्रीनेमिनाथस्य यात्रामहोत्सवे विद्वद्भिः सभासद्भिरादिष्टोऽस्मि यथा श्रीनेमिनाथस्य शमामृतं नाम छायानाटकमभिनयस्वेति । p. 1). The date of this play is not known.

197. In any case, we might conclude that the Chāyā Nāṭaka was a literary piece to be recited by the performers of puppet-show. The word Chāyā Nāṭaka can be translated as "imitation-play", i. e., a play with a lot of verbal borrowings from other literary works. This applies to the Dūtāṁgada, as just pointed out (para 194). Rājendralāl Mitra, however, gives a different interpretation,[3] and identifies the Chāyā Nāṭaka with the *entracte* in a play. He explains the word Chāyā Nāṭaka as "drama in the form of a shadow", i. e., reduced to the minimum for representation in such a form. But the Dūtāṁgada, the Dharmābhyudaya and the Śamāmṛtam do not give any clue which would help us in deciding if this interpretation is correct. Professor Luders has taken the Dūtāṁgada as the type of the Chāyā Nāṭaka, and thence deduced its characteristics; viz.- the prevalence of verse-often epic in character-over prose, the absence of Prākrit, the large number of characters, and the omission of the Vidūṣaka; and on this basis has considered the Mahānāṭaka and the Haridūta also as Chāyā Nāṭaka.[4] But we cannot take these characteristics as peculiar to the Chāyā Nāṭaka, because the Dūtāṁgada, the Śamāmṛtam and the Dharmābhyudaya have some Prākrit dialogues, and in the case of the last work the prose-portion predominates over the verses, unlike in the Dūtāṁgada. Any way, it is certain from these three works which are called Chāyā Nāṭakas by their authors, that the Chāyā Nāṭaka was a short and simple composition in one act. But we are left in the dark regarding its other characteristics and the exact manner of its representation. Whatever part the shadow-plays of puppets might have played in the evolution of the Sanskrit drama[5] the literary type known as the Chāyā Nāṭaka appears to be comparatively late, because it has been never alluded to in works on dramatic theory. Whatever may be the correct interpretation of the word Chāyā Nāṭaka, we can say with certainty that the three extant Chāyā Nāṭakas, viz. the Dūtāṁgada, the Śamāmṛtam and Dharmābhyudaya, are from Gujarāt, and if they really indicated shadow-play, one may say that in mediaeval Gujarāt recitation of elegant Sanskrit prose and verse must have accompanied these puppet-plays.

1 PBC, p. 387

2 JRK, p. 195.

3 Bikaner Catalogue, p. 251.

4 Keith, op. cit, p. 56.

5 I may quote here a reference from Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary on the Mahābhārata, XII. 294. 5 (रङ्गावतरणं चैव तथा रूपोपजीवनम् । मद्यमांसोपजीव्यं च विक्रयं

The Karuṇāvajrāyudha of Bālacandra

198. Now, we come to the Karuṇāvajrāyudha, a one-act play by Bālaca ndra. It has taken for its theme the Jaina version of the famous legend (king Śibi and the pigeon occurring in the Vanaparvan of the Mahābhārata an also in the Jātaka (no. 499). In the Jaina story, the hero is king Vajrāyudh: who is the Tīrthaṁkara Śāntinātha in one of his former births, and it occu in its oldest form in the 21st chapter of the Vasudeva-Hiṇḍi of Saṁghadāś .(circa 500 A. D.), and later on in the fifth Parvan of Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacari ra of Hemacandra and in numerous other works. In the prologue of th play the Sūtradhāra gives good many details about Vastupāla and his anc stors and also about the poet and his spiritual teachers. Then follows a Viṣk ambhaka, containing a dialogue between two dancing-teachers named Kalah aṁsa and Kalakaṇṭha, from which we know that king Vajrāyudha has onl recently returned after accomplishing a world-conquest, and that he is a ma of great piety. Kalahaṁsa infers from the throbbing of both of his eyes th: some incident will occur which will be bad for the king in the beginning, bı will turn out to be good in the end. Both start to see the king who wa sitting in the courtyard of the Pauṣadhaśālā after ending the Pauṣadha of th last day which was the fourteenth day of the fortnight, held sacred by th Jainas. Then follows a conversation between the king and his minister Pu uṣottama, in which the king expresses his great ideals about the religion whic enjoins non-violence to all living beings, and gives the ideal of his life in th following verse–

असारस्य शरीरस्य सारमेतद्गुणद्वयम्। तपः प्राणैरपि प्रीतिविधानमपरे जने ॥

(v. 58)

on which the fruition of the main action in the play is based. Meanwhil a great uproar is heard from the background, and a frightened dove chase by a hawk enters. The dove seeks shelter from the king, which the latte is ever-ready to extend, but the hawk is very hungry and demands his foo and faints. The king offers him sweet-balls, but he being a carnivorous anim al can not partake of them. Then the king decides to give him the flesh (his own body equal in weight to that of the dove, but the dove proves to b so weighty that the king sits down in the scale and thus offers his life fo the bird. At this juncture the two gods who had come in the form of bird to test the king's piety reveal themselves, and everything ends well.

लोहचर्मणोः ॥ Citraśālā press edition). Nīlakaṇṭha explains the word रूपो जीवनम् in the following manner–रूपोपजीवनं जलमण्डपिकेति दाक्षिणात्येषु प्रसिद्धम् यत्र सूक्ष्मवस्त्रं व्यवधाय चर्ममयैराकारै राजामात्यादीनां चर्यां प्रदर्श्यते । The word जल : the compound जलमण्डपिका can be derived from Arabic *Zil* meaning shadow,' and the explanation refers to the shadow-play of puppe popular even now in the Indian country-side. Nīlakaṇṭha is traditional believed to be a scholar patronized by the Peshvās, and as such he m: be assigned to the 18th century. Burnell, however, puts him in the 16 century (Macdonell, Sanskrit Literature, p. 290). In any case, t reference by Nīlakaṇṭha is of a later date, and though useful for t history of the puppet-play, does not throw any light on the early histo of the Chāyā Nāṭaka in its literary form.

199. The work is an example of a play composed and performed for the propagation of the Jaina religion in the manner of the Moharājaparājaya (para 32), the Prabudhharauhiṇeya (para 38) and the Dharmābhyudaya (para 196). Consequently, greater part of it is occupied by the religious discussions between the king and his minister, and also between the king and the hawk. Sometimes the pranks of the Vidūṣaka bring a lively touch, but on the whole there is practically very little action, and the verses predominate over the dialogues, so much so that we find not less than 137 stanzas in this short play. Some of the verses are quite noteworthy. When the Vidūṣaka raises doubts regarding the existence of another world the king makes him silent with the following illustration–

करस्थमप्येवममी कृषीवलाः क्षिपन्ति बीजं पृथुपङ्कसङ्कटे ।
वयस्य केनापि कथं विलोकितः समस्ति नास्तीत्यथवा फलोदयः ॥
(v. 50)

And description of the shining sabre in the king's hand–

शत्रूणां कालरात्रिर्मृगमदतिलकः प्राज्यसाम्राज्यलक्ष्म्याः
शाखा रोषद्रुमस्य प्रबलतरमहःखङ्गिनः शृङ्गयष्टिः ।
स्फुर्जच्छौर्यप्रदीपाञ्जनमनणुयशःपुण्डरीकस्य नालं
पाथोधिः पुष्कराणामसिरसितरुचिर्भाति देवस्य हस्ते ॥
(v. 62)

Finally, when the gods praise the greatness of Vajrāyudha, he expresses his modesty in very simple but eloquent words:

सज्जनाः परमस्तोकं स्तोकमप्यालपन्ति हि । कवयः कवयन्त्यब्धिं क्षारमप्यमृताकरम् ॥

The Hammīramadamardana of Jayasiṁhasūri

200. The Hammīramadamardana of Jayasiṁhasūri is especially noteworthy, because it is a drama on a contemporary historical event. Of historical dramas we have very little in Sanskrit literature in comparision with the plays based on mythology. Two plays of Viśākhadatta–the Mudrārākṣasa and the Devīcandragupta, the latter being known only through the quotations in the Nāṭyadarpaṇa of Rāmacandra and the Śṛṁgāraprakāśa of Bhoja–are famous. We know of the Lalitavigrarāja Nāṭaka composed by Somadeva (circa 1153 A. D.), in honour of king Vīsaladeva or Vigraharāja of Śākambharī,[1] and also of the Pratāparudrakalyāṇa (circa 1300 A. D.) of Vidyānātha, inserted in his treatise on rhetoric, the Pratāparudrayaśobhūṣaṇa, as an illustration of the drama, which celebrates his patron, and of the Pārijātamañjarī (1231 A. D.) of Madana.[2] We have already mentioned in the first chapter several historical plays composed and performed in Gujarāt—viz. the Karṇasundarī of Bihlaṇa, the Mudritakumudacandra Prakaraṇa of Yaśaścandra, the Moharājaparājaya of Yaśaḥpāla, the Candralekhāvijaya Prakaraṇa of Devacandra, and the Gaṁgādāsapratāpavilāsa of Gaṁgādhara. Several of these plays make use of mythological motifs and they are historical only in a limited sense. The

1 Krishnamachariar, Classical Sanskrit Literature, p. 643.

2 Hultsch, IA, Vol. XXXV, pp. 236 ff. This Madana was the Royal priest at Dhārā, and hence different from the poet Madana, who was patronized by Vastupāla (para 132).

Hammīramadamardana takes for its theme a purely historical incident viz. the repulse of the Muslim attack by Vastupāla and Vīradhavala, and has treated of it in a manner which reveals that the author had almost first-hand information of the contemporary events. The word Hammīra is a corrupt form of the Arabic word *Amīra* meaning 'a noble,' which seems to have been used here to denote the Sultān of Delhi, who has been sometimes called by the name Milachrīkāra in the drama.

201. The Hammīramadamardana is a five-act play. The author claims (p. 1) that it includes all the nine sentiments, in contrast to some Prakaraṇas exploiting the sentiment of fear, with which the audience has been surfeited. In act I after the prologue, enter Vīradhavala and Tejapāla, the subject of their talk being the extraordinary merits of Vastupāla as a statesman. We also know that Turuṣka Hammīra and Yādava Siṁhaṇa seek an opportunity of attacking Gujarāt, and that they may hope for aid from Saṁgrāmasiṁha, nephew of Siṁha, the lord of Lāṭa. The spies of Lāvaṇyasiṁha, Tejapāla's son, supply important information and king Vīradhavala expresses desire to attack Hammīra. But Vastupāla warns him against rashness in pursuing the enemies too far and advises him to take the aid of the Mārvāḍ princes. In act II we find that the advice has been followed, as related by Lāvaṇyasiṁha. Then a spy Nipuṇaka enters with the tale of his adventures; he entered Siṁhaṇa's camp, passed himself off as a spy on Vīradhavala's movements, reported that the king was ready for an attack on Hammīra, and persuaded Siṁhaṇa to wait in the forest of the river Tapti for a favourable opportunity to attack Vīradhavala after his forces have been weakened by battle with Hammīra. Through the machinations of his brother Suvega, who was also a spy in the service of king Devapāla of Mālvā, Nipuṇaka succeeds in creating an impression on Siṁhaṇa that Saṁgrāmasiṁha was in the opposite camp, and in frightening the latter into flight. Vastupāla comes on the stage. His spy Kuśalaka informs him that Saṁgrāmasiṁha is preparing for an attack on Stambhatīrtha. Vastupāla takes precautions for its defence, and summons Bhuvanapāla, Saṁgrāmasiṁha's minister, with whom he arrives at an understanding assuring Vīradhavala of that Prince's aid. In act III, a spy Kamalaka informs about the fate of Jayatala, the king of Mevāḍ. Terrified by the attack of the Mlechhas, some people in despair flung themselves into wells burned themselves in their houses or hanged themselves, until he depressed the foe and heartened the people by announcing the approach of Vīradhavala at whose name the Turuṣkas fled in terror. What Vastupāla is doing for success against the Mlechhas after he had disposed off other foes has been shown by a conversation between two spies, Kuvalayaka and Śīghraka which forms the Praveśaka to act IV; Vastupāla has induced the Caliph of Baghdād by a false report to instruct Kharpara Khān to send Milachrīkāra to him in chains, and he has won over several Gurjara princes by promising them the lands of the Turuṣkas when they are defeated. Then enter Milchrīkāra and his minister Ghori Isapa discussing the situation. They are

pressed hard by Kharpara Khān as well as Vīradhavala. Milchrīkāra does not desire to retreat, but he and his minister fly hastily when they hear the sound of approach of Vīradhavala's army. Vīradhavala is disappointed at not being able to capture his foes, but obeys Vastupāla's counsel against rash pursuit. Act V is very interesting, as it describes the return of the triumphant king and the minister Tejapāla to Dhavalakka from the scene of action. Vīradhavala has been depicted as mounted over a Naravimāna, which presumably means an aerial car in the form of a man. After passing over Mount Ābu, the seat of the God Acaleśvara, the Vasiṣṭhāśrama and the sages living there, they come to Candrāvatī, the capital of the Paramāra kings. Then they approach the town of Sidhhapura, where the sacred Sarasvatī flows eastwards (नूनमस्याः सिद्धपुरपरिसरे प्राचीमुखप्रसृमरं पयःप्रवाहमधिवसन्, p. 47), and see the temple of the Bhadramahākāla, by which is meant the famous shrine Rudramahālaya built by Mūlarāja. Then they see Aṇahilavāḍ, the capital of Gujarāt, and are highly delighted at the sight of the great lake Sahasraliṁga. Going southwards, they see Karṇāvatī (same as Āśāpallī on the site of modern Ahmedabad) on the bank of the river Sābhramatī, held by Lavaṇaprasāda, and finally reach Dhavalakka, where the queen Jayataladevī was eagerly waiting for the king. The places are described in a highly rhetorical style, and the idea of the aerial travel from Ābu to Dhavalakka seems to have occurred to the poet's mind by the descriptions of such travels from Laṁkā to Ayodhyā in the numerous Rāma-dramas and also in the Raghuvaṁśa (vide para 190). After the return of all to Dhavalakka, we know that Vastupāla has intercepted at sea Radī and Kadī, Milchrīkāra's preceptors, returning from Baghdād, and that Milchrīkāra has been forced to enter into a friendly alliance in order to secure their safety. Vastupāla and Vīradhavala congratulate one another. Finally, the king enters Śiva's temple, where the god presents himself before him and grants him a boon.[1]

202. Though the Hammīramadamardana is primarily meant to eulogize the greatness of Vastupāla and Tejapāla, and also of king Vīradhavala, naturally it throws some important light on contemporary history. We also come to know how the system of spies worked in those days. Being a production of the later mediaeval Sanskrit literature, it is written in a highly ornate and artificial style; however, the dialogues are forceful, and the poetry is charming and abounds in choice similes. The characters of Vastupāla, Tejapāla and Vīradhavala are well-marked and full of life and the depiction of the aerial travel suggests that the poet is intent upon doing something imaginative. There is only one female character in the play, viz. queen Jayataladevī, and it seems that the poet has introduced her to delineate the erotic sentiment in the beginning of the fifth act. If we consider her to be the heroine, naturally we should take Vīradhavala as hero, in whose mouth the Bharatavākya is also put. On the other hand, Vastupāla is the main character in the play, and his figure looms large over all the events. Probably, the poet has intended him as the counsellor and the guide—rather a Guru in the political

1 For a short summary of the play, vide Keith, op. cit., pp. 248 ff.; and for a detailed analysis of its subject-matter, Dalal, intro. to the HMM, pp. 6 ff.

sense—of Vīradhavala. His role may be compared with that of Cāṇaky in the Mudrārākṣasa, in which Candragupta is the hero, but the mai burden of action falls on his Guru.

203. The play abounds in lyric verses, though there is no such grea disparity between the extent of the prose and verse, as we find, for exampl in the Dūtāṁgada or the Karuṇāvajrāyudha. There is a remarkabl fancy in the following description of the evening:

नीलानि षट्पदकुलानि हसन्मुखीनां लीनानि भान्ति हृदयेषु कुमुद्वतीनाम् ।
दूराभ्युपेतनिजकान्तकरान्तसङ्गपीयूषशान्तविरहानलसंनिभानि ॥

(II. 20)

And the chamberlain gives a poetic account of his old age in th following verse-

सर्वाङ्गं पलितच्छलेन जरया मुक्ताः कटाक्षच्छटाः स्वात्मा कम्पयते शिरश्च विषयाभोगान्निषेधन्निव ।
आलोकाय मुहुर्जलं वितरतो बाष्पच्छलाच्चक्षुषी देहोऽद्यापि तथापि सङ्कुचति मे मृत्योर्भियेवाधिकम् ॥

(V. 2)

Following is a picturesque description of Mount Ābu:

धरित्रीधम्मिल्लो विलसति वसिष्ठशतक्रतुस्फुरद्धूमः श्यामीकृतवपुरसावर्बुदगिरिः ।
इमे ताराभारास्त्वदहितयशःषट्पदजुषो यदङ्गं रङ्गन्तः कुसुमभरभङ्गीमबिभरुः ॥

(V. 3)

Trees in the penance-grove of Vasiṣṭha looking like ascetics:

कार्श्यस्पष्टशिराभरोपमलतासंवेष्टिताङ्गा जटाजूटप्रायदलप्रतानमुकुटाः सौख्योपविष्टा ध्रुवम् ।
उत्फुल्लानि तपोधना इव वनोत्सङ्गे भृशं बिभ्रते शुभ्रध्याननिभानिमानि शिरसा पुष्पाण्यमी पादपाः ॥

(V. 10)

Bhadramahākāla in Sidhhapura, whose fire-eye, as if, performs his own Ārātrika ceremony:

चूलागलद्धवलसिन्धुपयप्रवाहो व्यालोलचामरतुलां कुरुते त्रिसन्ध्यम् ।
नृत्यन्नसौ प्रसृमरानलचक्षुरस्या नीराजनीभवति च स्वयमेव देवः ॥

(V. 21)

Sky- touching temples in Aṇahilavāḍ, the capital of Gujarāt:

निशि निशि तुहिनांशुज्योत्स्नया जातजाड्याकृतिरिव रविमूर्त्यांमुल्लसन्त्यां हसन्त्याम् ।
इह सुरगृहपङ्क्तिर्वासरे वासरेऽसौ बत तपति पताकाहस्तविस्तारणेन ॥

(V. 24)

NARACANDRA'S GLOSS ON THE ANARGHARĀGHAVA

204. It will be convenient here to treat of Naracandra's Ṭippaṇa on the Anargharāghava Nāṭaka of Murāri, as its subject pertains to drama. As we have already seen, Devaprabha, Naracandra's guru, had composed a commentary on the same play, but we would not study here the works of Devaprabha, because though he was a senior contemporary of Vastupāla,[1] he cannot be considered one of his literary circle, in the sense in which Naracandra can be. We have no evidence whatsoever to suggest that

1 Vide p. 73, footnote 3.

the literary activity of Devaprabha was patronized by Vastupāla or by any of his family-members. The work of Devaprabha as well as that of Naracandra are unprinted and available in manuscript form. The commentary of Devaprabha is a detailed and elaborate work, its Granthāgra being 7100 ślokas,[1] while the work of Naracandra is a Ṭippaṇa or gloss, its Granthāgra being 2450 ślokas,[2] i. e., only about one third of the work of his Guru. Thus Naracandra has not aimed at writing a full-fledged commentary on the Anargharāghava, the reason may be that his Guru had already composed one. Naracandra's work being like modern 'Notes' is concerned only with the elucidation of the meaning of the text, and the text not being a scientific work like the Nyāyakandalī, he had no occasion to propound any independent views, as he had in his Ṭippaṇa on the Nyāyakandalī (vide ch. XVII). It appears that in the Ṭippaṇa on the Anargharāghava, the author desired to supply a handy guide to the students, as the play of Murāri attracted a large number of students in mediaeval Gujarāt. In this work, Naracandra has never cited an authority or discussed a figure of speech, and seldom has he given any quotations. He has not discussed the technicalities of Sanskrit drama nor has he dwelt upon the explanations of the technical terms. Though Naracandra was a great scholar, he has produced this work in a very simple form, which would be useful to the beginners in literary studies. Perhaps, that is the reason why the number of the extant manuscripts of Naracandra's work is much larger than of the manuscripts of the commentaries of Devaprabha and Jinaharṣa,[3] which would show that Naracandra's gloss had proved to be useful and popular among the students.

---

1 PBC, p. 301.
2 JRK, p. 7.
3 Ibid, p. 7.

CHAPTER VIII

PRAS'ASTIS

The literary form of Pras'asti and its development

205. Praśasti or panegyric is one of the most interesting forms o Sanskrit literature, because though written in ornate Kāvya style, the Praśastis deal with historical personages and contain much that is helpfu for the reconstruction of the past history. In the earliest Indian literature there is frequent mention in the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads of the "Gāthā Nārāśaṁsī" or "songs in praise of men." These songs are connectec with the Dānastutis of the Ṛgveda and the Kuntāpa hymns of the Atharvaveda, and are in a way precursors of the heroic episodes in the epics, for their contents are glorious deeds of the warriors and princes and the scholars believe that these Gāthās developed into epic poems o considerable length, centring around one hero or one great event.[1]

206. Later on, we find the Praśastis in the form of inscriptions, the notable examples of which we find in the Gupta age. Hariṣeṇa's Praśast of Samudragupta, inscribed on the Allahabad pillar (375–390 A. D.) Girnār inscription of Skandagupta (456 A. D.) and Vatsabhaṭṭi's Praśast of the sun-temple at Mandasar (Mālava Saṁvat 529, which accordin to Bühler is equivalent to 473–4 A. D.) deserve special mention. Thes and several others are the specimens of the court-poetry zealously cultivate under the patronage of kings or sometimes of ministers, as in the case c Vastupāla. Even after the days of Hindu suzerainty were over thi tradition of composing a Praśasti especially to commemorate the buildin of monuments continued upto most recent times. In Gujarāt and Rājasthā especially among the Jainas, there is a characteristic form of the Praśast viz. the Grantha-praśasti or "panegyric at the end of the book." Th Jaina authors generally gave long Praśastis at the end of their composition supplying detailed account of themselves, their Gurus and their gachha Moreover, the Praśastis of those lay followers under whose auspices th books were copied down and also of those who bought religious books an donated them to deserving monks and nuns for attaining merit have als been given at the end of manuscripts. A large number of such Praśasti have been published in the reports of scholars like Peterson and Bhandarka and also in the descriptive catalogues of the Jaina Bhāṇḍārs at Pāṭaṇ an Jesalmer, and in collections like the Jaina Pustaka Praśasti Saṁgraha Such Praśastis yield a wealth of information on the history of a large numbe of aristocratic and upper middle-class Jaina families of mediaeval Gujarāt.

207. A typical Praśasti is simple in structure. After a benedictio it proceeds to describe the donor or the builder of the monument. Whe the donor or the builder is not identical with the reigning prince, the Praśas adds something about the latter. In both the cases it gives som

---

1 Winternitz, A History of Indian Literature, Vol. I, p. 314.

genealogical information. Then it describes the donation and enumerates the privileges or conditions accompanying it, or describes in Kāvya style the structure built by the patron. It also sets out generally the name of the architect who constructed it, the priest who consecrated it, the poet who composed the Praśasti, the scribe who wrote it on copper or stone, and the artisan who engraved it. There are slight variations in the form according as the Praśasti is inscribed on a temple, an image, a public building, a copper-plate or is appended to a manuscript. The historically interesting part is generally the genealogy and the heroic or pious deeds mentioned therein. Some Praśastis are very short—only of a few lines, while others extend to more than a hundred lines or verses. Some Praśastis are written in prose, some in verse, while others in a mixture of prose and verse; and their value as history and poetry varies within a wide range.

Pras'astis commemorating good deeds of Vastupāla and Tejapāla

208. Vastupāla and Tejapāla have to their credit a large number of inscriptions—both long and short—but we shall take into consideration only those which deserve to be called independent Kāvyas. We shall also review such poems which though not inscribed anywhere were composed as panegyrics and as such deserve to be reviewed here. All these poems have Vastupāla and Tejapāla as their central figures, except one Praśasti, viz. the Vaidyanāthapraśasti of Darbhāvatī, extolling the Vaidyanātha temple and its renovator king Vīsaladeva, composed by Someśvara, one of Vastupāla's literary circle. As the central theme of most of the Praśastis is Vastupāla and his good deeds and as almost all of them indulge in unqualified praise according to the traditional style, they are not more than mediocre in literary merit. However, they have remarkable flashes of poetry in certain places.

The Ābu Pras'asti of Somes'vara

209. The Ābu Praśasti of Someśvara is intended to commemorate the building of the temples on Ābu, and contains 74 verses in different metres. First two verses praise the goddess Sarasvatī and Neminātha, the cheif diety in the Ābu temple, and the third verse contains a short description of Aṇahilavāḍ. Then follow a genealogy of the builders and admiring references to their parents, brothers and sisters (vv. 4-24). In verses 25-29 the poet mentions Arṇorāja, who was 'an ornament of a clan of the Caulukyas' (viz. Vāghelās), and his son and grandson Lavaṇaprasāda and Vīradhavala. Then we find a description of Ābu and a genealogy of the Paramār kings ruling there, beginning from their mythical origin from the sacrificial altar of Vasiṣṭha upto Somasiṁha, the then ruler, and his heir-apparent Kṛṣṇarāja (vv. 30-42). Again, there begins an eulogy of Vastupāla and his family-members—his wife Lalitādevī and son Jayantasiṁha, Tejapāla and his wife Anupamā, and also elder brother Malladeva and his wife and son (vv. 43-58). Then the poet refers to the building of the temple by Tejapāla and installation of the statues of ten of his family-members on elephants, looking like ten

Dikpālas coming to salute the Jina (vv. 59-65). Verses 66-68 eulogize in hyperbolic terms the good deeds of Vastupāla, and 69-71 mention the Ācāryas of the Nāgendra gachha, from among whom Vijayasenasūri had performed the installation-ceremony of the temple. Verse 72 bestows benediction on the temple and its builder, and in 73 Someśvara mentions himself as the author. And the last verse invokes the favour of Neminātha and goddess Ambikā on this panegyric of Vastupāla's family; and two sentences in simple prose mention the name of the engraver and the date of installation.

Prose-portion in the Girnār inscriptions

210. Among the Girnār inscriptions of Vastupāla, there are six long inscriptions which deserve the status of independent Praśastis. The prose-portion in all the six inscriptions occurs in the beginning, and being almost literally identical in all of them, presumably is the composition of one author, whose name, unfortunately, is not known. It is noteworthy that the prose-portion contains some useful information and important dates regarding the history of Vastupāla's family, and as such, is useful for the history of Gujarāt of the mediaeval Hindu period.

Somes'vara's verses in the Girnār inscriptions

211. In the Girnār inscriptions, after the aforesaid prose-portion, there occur a few verses by way of the panegyric of the builder—verses which are expressly mentioned as the composition of individual poets. Out of six inscriptions, verses in two (HIG no. 207 and PJLS no. 38-1; HIG no. 209 and PJLS no. 40-3) are from the pen of Someśvara. The first inscription has 9, while the second has 16 of Someśvara's verses. All the verses contain nothing more than conventional panegyric. Though the literary merit of the Praśastis is bound to be mediocre by reason of the very condition in which they are composed, Someśvara succeeds in giving some good poetic touches. Speaking of the poetic achievements and administrative efficiency of Vastupāla he says–

विरचयति वस्तुपालश्चुलुक्यसचिवेषु कविषु च प्रवरः। न कदाचिदर्थहरणं श्रीकरणे काव्यकरणे वा ॥[1]

About Tejapāla he says–

तेजःपालः सकलप्रजोपजीव्यस्य वस्तुपालस्य। सविधे विभाति सफलः सरोवरस्येव सहकारः ॥[2]

And he describes how the fame of Vastupāla has spread everywhere–

उदारः शूरो वा रुचिरवचनो वाऽस्ति न हि वा भवत्तुल्यः कोऽपि क्वचिदिति चुलुक्येन्द्रसचिव।
समुद्भूतभ्रान्तिर्नियतमवगन्तुं तव यशस्ततिर्गेहे गेहे पुरि पुरि च याता दिशि दिशि ॥[3]

The Vaidyanātha Pras'asti of Somes'vara

212. Someśvara has got to his credit another very important Praśasti of historical value, viz. the Vaidyanāthapraśasti of Darbhāvatī, even if we do not consider his lost Praśasti of the Vīranārāyaṇaprāsāda, built by king

1 Ābu Praśasti, v. 14.
2 Ibid, v. 65.
3 The second Girnār inscription of Someśvara, v. 4

Vīradhavala at Dhavalakka (para 73). The Vaidyanāthapraśasti was intended to commemorate the reparation by King Vīsaladeva of the temple of Vaidyanātha Mahādeva or Śiva in the form of divine physician. The Praśasti is a long poem of 116 verses and bears the date of V. S. 1311 (1255 A. D.), when both Vastupāla and Tejapāla were already dead some years before. Unfortunately, the two slabs bearing the Praśasti are very badly worn out. The writing on one slab is almost wholly obliterated, and no line on the other is now left entire, and consequently we can hardly make out a single verse in its entirety. Still, we can see that the fragments of verse six are identical with the Kīrtikaumudī II. 2, and verse 14 with the Kīrtikaumudī II. 99. Available portions of verse 25 agree with verse 27 of the Ābu Praśasti of Someśvara. Even from the scanty fragments of the Praśasti, it can be said that the major portion of it extolls the warlike exploits of kings of Gujarāt and of the Vāghelā chiefs, and especially of Vīsaladeva. Verse 45 refers to defeat of the lord of Dhārā and of the ruler of Deccan at the hand of Vīsaladeva. With verse 80 begins apparently the account of Vīsaladeva's building operations. We hear of the erection of one or several temples of Śiva (vv. 81 and 91), and of the restoration of a temple of the Sun, called Mūlasthāna[1] (v. 92), of another 'temple which resembled a peak of the mountain of Hara,' i. e. Kailāsa (v. 93), and that 'he who in form resembled Cupid renovated the Prākāra,' i. e. the enclosure, probably of some other temple. Verse 102 says that in his country the sound of the Vedas, chanted by indefatigable Brāhmins who were gladdened by fees given at great sacrifices, (ever) meets one's ears. In the concluding portion of the poem (vv. 109 ff.), Someśvara speaks of the officials and architects connected with the building of the temple, of himself, of the writer and the engraver of the Praśasti. The fact that two verses from this Praśasti have been included in the Sūktimuktāvali of Jahlaṇa (para 77) is an eloquent testimony of the poetic fame which it enjoyed, and if we get a transcript of it from some old manuscript, as in the case of the Sukṛtakīrtikallolinī of Udayaprabha and the Vastupāla-Tejapālapraśasti of Jayasiṁhasūri, it will be deemed a notable literary discovery.

Udayaprabha's verses in a Girnār inscription and his Sūkṛtakīrtikallolinī

213. Then, coming to the Praśastis composed by Udayaprabhasūri, we may first mention his 9 verses in one of the Girnār inscriptions (HIG no. 212 and PJLS no. 43-6). But his principal contribution to this domain of literature is the Sūkṛtakīrtikallolinī, a long Praśasti of 179 verses. As its very name suggests, it is a panegyric of the good deeds of Vastupāla. After usual salutation to the deities, it describes at considerable length the valour of the kings of the Cāvaḍā dynasty (vv. 9-18), and devotes not less than fifty verses (vv. 19-69) to the kings of the Caulukya

1 Probably this may be the Sun-temple at Thān (Skt. Sthāna) in Saurāṣṭra, the magnificent ruins of which are found even now-a-days.

dynasty. Then follows the praise of Vīradhavala and his ancestors (vv. 70–97); a genealogy of Vastupāla and the praises in Kāvya style of the minister and his family-members naturally follow (vv. 98–137). Verses 137–140 mention his warlike deeds, and 141–149 refer to his pilgrimages. After giving a genealogy of the Ācāryas of the Nāgendra gachha (vv. 150–157) and praising Vijayasenasūri (vv. 158–61), the author enumerates the Dharmasthānaparampară or the large number of public and religious buildings of Vastupāla, which he had built in obedience to the instruction of the Ācārya (vv. 162–77). Verse 178 supplies the name of the author and the last verse gives the conventional blessing. The Praśasti does not contain any new historical information, which we do not get from other sources, though its importance is not to be minimized, as it refers to many facts which might prove very useful as corroborative evidence.

Udayaprabha's Pras'asti of the Upās'raya at Stambhatīrtha and the Vastupālastuti

214. The Praśasti of an Upāśraya built by Vastupāla at Stambhatīrtha is a composition of Udayaprabha. It contains 19 verses and a few lines in prose, and has nothing more than the genealogy and the conventional praise of the builder and his religious teachers. The Vastupālastuti of Udayaprabha is a collection of 33 eulogistic verses. The work as a whole does not seem to have been occasioned by a particular incident or to be intended to commemorate some good deed, but looks like a systematic arrangement of the author's laudatory verses in praise of Vastupāla, and it is quite possible that the individual verses might have been composed on particular occasions, though nothing definite can be said on that point. There are some beautiful verses in the Praśastis by Udayaprabha, and I might quote here a few of them. He praises the speech of Vastupāla in a very charming manner–

पीयूषादपि पेशला शशधरज्योत्स्नाकलापादपि स्वच्छा नूतनचूतमञ्जरिभरादप्युल्लसत्सौरभाः ।
वाग्देवीमुखसामसूक्तविशदोद्गारादपि प्राञ्जलाः केषां न प्रथयन्ति चेतसि मुदं श्रीवस्तुपालोक्तयः ॥[1]

And expressing wonder at the contrast between his merciful mind and warlike deeds, the poet says–

चेतः केतकगर्भपत्रविशदं वाचः सुधाबन्धवः कीर्त्तिः कार्त्तिकमासमांसलशशिज्योत्स्नावदातद्युतिः ।
आश्चर्यं क्षितिरक्षणक्षणविधौ श्रीवस्तुपालस्य यत् कृष्णत्वं चरितैरपास्तदुरितैर्लोकेषु भेजे भुजः ॥[2]

Making a charming use of Śleṣa which is a favourite literary figure with Sanskrit poets, the poet again praises his patron–

सूरो रणेषु चरणप्रणतेषु सोमो वक्रोऽतिवक्रचरितेषु बुधोऽर्थबोधे ।
नीतौ गुरुः कृतिजने कविरक्रियासु मन्दोऽपि च ग्रहमयो न हि वस्तुपालः ॥[3]

Naracandra's verses in the Girnār inscriptions and his Vastupālapras'asti

215. Naracandrasūri has to his credit the metrical portion in two inscriptions on Girnār (HIG no. 208 and PJLS no. 39–2; HIG no. 211 and

1 Vastupāla-stuti, v. 1.
2 Ibid, v. 2.
3 Ibid, v. 4.

PJLS no. 42–5). The first inscription has 7, while the second has 11 laudatory verses. Naracandrasūri's Vastupālapraśasti is a panegyric in 26 verses. In the first verse the poet salutes the first Tīrthaṁkara Ṛṣabhadeva and in the second verse he mentions Vastupāla, Tejapāla and their ancestors, while the rest of the poem is devoted to conventional praise of the patron. About the merits of his patron the poet says–

विभुता-विक्रम-विद्या-विदग्धता-वित्त-वितरण-विवेकैः। यः सप्तभिर्विकारैः कलितोऽपि बभार न विकारम्॥[1]

Vastupāla's proficiency in use of arms and his generosity have been praised in following words–

रणे वितरणे चात्र शस्त्रैर्वस्त्रैश्च वर्षति। अमित्रमित्रयोः सद्यो भिद्यते हृदयावनिः॥[2]

Narendraprabha's verses in a Girnār inscription and his two Pras'astis of Vastupāla

216. 13 laudatory verses in a Girnār inscription (HIG no. 210 and PJLS no. 41–4) are from the pen of Narendraprabhasūri. His longer Vastupāla-praśasti of 104 verses is of some importance from historical and literary points of view. After saluting the first Jina and Mahādeva in a punning verse, the poet extolls the kings of the Caulukya dynasty (vv. 2–12), and then those of the Vāghelā dynasty (vv. 13–17). Then we are told about the ancestors of Vastupāla (vv. 18–24), and also about his personal merits (vv. 25–28). Verse 29 says that Vastupāla fixed his mind on religion, and verses 30–31 mention his pilgrimages, after which follows a long list of temples, public places, etc., built and repaired by him at different places (vv. 32–98). Verses 99–104 refer to the Ācāryas of the Nāgendra gachha of which Vastupāla was a follower, and also to the author himself and his Gurus. Narendraprabha's second Vastupāla–praśasti in 37 verses is entirely devoted to conventional praise of the two brothers and of king Vīradhavala, whom they were serving, and does not refer to any historical event in particular.

The Vastupāla–Tejapāla-Pras'asti of Jayasiṁhasūri

217. The Vastupāla–Tejapāla-praśasti of Jayasiṁhasūri is a panegyric in 77 verses commemorating the installation of golden flag–staffs by Tejapāla on the Devakulikās or small shrines in the temple of Muni Suvratasvāmin which was known as the Śakunikāvihāra at Bṛgukachha. Like a number of Praśastis which we have reviewed, this also contains the genealogy of the Caulukya (vv. 4–32) and the Vāghelā (vv. 33–38) kings, and that of the donor Vastupāla (vv. 39–51) and also a list of his good deeds (vv. 52–62). Verses 63–71 describe how Jayasiṁhasūri, head priest of the shrine and the author of this poem, requested Tejapāla for installation of golden flag-staffs, and how Tejapāla acted accordingly after obtaining the consent from his elder brother. The rest of the poem bestows conventional blessings, in high–flown language, on the golden staffs, the temple and the two ministers, and in the last verse the poet mentions his name.

---

1 Second Girnār inscription of Naracandra, v. 2.
2 Vastupālastuti, v. 14.

The Darbhāvatī-Pras'asti

218. Now, we would review a Praśasti, the text of which is lost, and the author unknown, but the detailed contents of which are available from the Vastupālacarita of Jinaharṣa.[1] While Tejapāla returned from Godraha (Godhrā) after defeating and capturing Ghūghula, the chief of that place (vide para 52), he built the fort of Darbhāvatī and also constructed some temples in that city. The Vastupālacarita expressly mentions that Tejapāla had installed two slabs of a Pras'asti or inscription in the walls of a Jaina temple built by him there, and concludes the account of the public works of Tejapāla in that city by the words–इति प्रशस्तिप्रशस्तौ, meaning thereby that these details have been taken from the above-mentioned Praśasti. The Darbhāvatīpraśasti mentioned by the Vastupālacarita is clearly different from the Vaidyanāthapraśasti of Someśvara to which we have already referred, because the contents of the two are altogether different from each other. Though we are not in a position to reconstruct the text of the original Praśasti, it would be suitable here to give a translation of the relevant verses of the Vastupālacarita[2]–"Accompanied by the tributary chiefs the son of Aśvarāja arrived at the town of Darbhāvatī, which was rich like the capital city of the Vidarbha country (62). The wise one, finding that the residents of the town were affected with the pain of the shaft of terror of the rulers of Pallī, forgetting all other thoughts, constructed round the town ramparts which touched the sky and were made resplendent by the statues of Mūlrāja and other kings. It had various courses, it afforded shelter to the virtuous, (and was meant) so to say, for the comfort of the gods moving in the sky without a support. He thus removed every fear of the helpless travellers, as the Sun removes the mass of darkness. The birth of such persons is, verily, good for humanity (63-66). He built there the temple of Jina-lord Pārśva, which was marked with golden pitchers, was like Kailāsa, the chief of the mountains, and looked brilliant on account of the line of fluttering banners. It had the Toraṇas and the statues of his forefathers, was like collirium of nectar for the eyes of the triple world, and had one hundred and seventy temples of Jina around it. The image of Kumāradevī, the mother of the chief minister, riding an elephant and holding a garland of silver-flowers in the hand, shines in the porch, like the mother of the first Jina. There he also constructed other famous monuments with a view to please the heart of the Caulukya king (67-70), such as these—in the assembly-hall of the Vaidyanātha temple in the town of Darbhāvatī, Tejapāla placed twentyone pitchers of gold (71). He, who was the chief among the victorious, built a Jaina temple in the front of the adytum of the Vaidyanātha Mahādeva, in which he put the statues of his master (i. e. king Vīradhavala), his beloved queen, as well as his own image and the images of the younger and elder members of his family (72). He also put nine sacred gold pitchers in the Udyotas or sky-lights of the nine partitions, and they looked like illuminators

1 VC, ch. III, 363-79.

2 The translation is adapted from the Ruins of Darbhāvtī or Dabhoi, by Dr. Hirananda Shastri, pp. 5 f., with some necessary corrections.

(73). In the two doors of the western and the northern verandah he placed two (slabs of the) Praśasti[1] speaking of his auspicious fame (74). Having constructed a beautiful step-well full of sweet water, called Svayaṁvara, he made the earth full of the relish of the fresh ambrosia (75). In front of the northern gate of the abode of Vaidyanātha he erected high Toraṇa of white marble (76). Here his brother (i. e. Vastupāla) built with white marble a porch for the bull (Vṛṣa-maṇḍapikā) in two storeys adorned with golden Kalaśa, in front of the residence of the king (77). He also built at the confluence of the rivers Revā and Uru in the Kālakṣetra the temple of Vīreśvara which he so named after the name of his king (i. e. Vīradhavala) (78). At the sacred place called Kumbheśvara he built five abodes of ascetics, with all the materials for religious performances (79). This is in the Darbhāvatī Praśasti."

219. The Authenticity of the contents of the Darbhāvatīpraśasti supplied by the Vastupālacarita is corroborated by the fact that the installation of golden pitchers in the temple of Vaidyanātha has been also mentioned by the Sukṛtasaṁkīrtana (XI. 344), the Sukṛtakīrtikallolinī (vv. 175-76), and the first Vastupālapraśasti of Narendraprabhasūri (vv. 48-50). The putting of the statues of king Vīradhavala, his queen and several of the minister's family-members has been referred to in the two latter works, while all the three are unanimous in saying that the golden pitchers were put in place of those carried away by king Subhaṭavarman of Mālavā, when he attacked Gujarāt. Unfortunately, we are unable to get the original text of the Darbhāvatīpraśasti, and hence the literary evaluation of the work is not possible.

Grantha-Pras'astis in praise of Vastupāla and his son Jaitrasiṁha

220. It has been pointed out earlier that Vastupāla had established three manuscript-libraries at Aṇahilavāḍ, Stambhatīrtha and Bṛgukachha, at a heavy cost of money (para 61). It is an old tradition, especially among the Jainas, that the persons who established such libraries or who got a large number of manuscripts copied down for such purposes would have their Praśastis appended at the end of each of the manuscripts (para 206), and we may believe that the manuscripts in the libraries established by Vastupāla also must have contained such Praśastis. But unfortunately, there is no trace now-a-days of those libraries. The Tapā Gachha Bhāṇḍār at Pāṭaṇ has a palm-leaf manu-

1 The original reads as प्रशस्ती न्यस्तवानात्मकीर्त्तिमङ्गलपाठिके। I have translated in this way the word प्रशस्ती which is in the duel, because the closing words after verse 379 are-इति दर्भावतीप्रशस्तौ, which shows that there was only one Praśasti, and not two. It was customary in old times to inscribe one Kāvya on two slabs and to put them on two different doors or two sides of the main door. Even to-day we can see that the two slabs of the Vaidyanāthapraśasti of Someśvara have been put on two door-sides of the famous Hirā Bhāgol at Darbhāvatī. It may be remembered here that the Praśasti which we know of from the Vastupālacarita was composed to commemorate a Jaina temple built by Tejapāla in front of the Vaidyanātha temple.

script (no. 8) of the Jītakalpa-cūrṇi-vyākhyā of Śrīcandrasūri, copied down in V. S. 1284 (1228 A. D.). The text proper is completed on folio 107, while the subsequent folio (which bears the figure 108 in a later hand, the original page-figure having become illegible) has four verses in praise of Vastupāla. These four verses are respectively numbered from 37 to 40, and not referring to any historical incident in particular they indulge in hyperbolic praise of the conventional type that is found in some of the Praśastis.[1] It seems that these four verses are concluding portion of a long Praśasti of 40 verses. Several folios, subsequent to folio 107, of the said palm-leaf manuscript are presumably lost, and they must have contained the verses 1–35 of the Praśasti; some uncritical reader of the later times, not cognisant of the loss of these verses, may have written the figure 108 on the last folio, under the impression that no portion of his manuscript is missing. Anyhow, we can assume that the said manuscript may be a rare remnant of one of the public libraries established by Vastupāla, and that the extant verses on the last folio form the part of a longer Grantha-praśasti, which must have been appended at the end of the manuscripts in those libraries. This inference is supported by the fact that the above-mentioned four verses are not to be seen in any other available poems pertaining to Vastupāla, and hence we are justified in assuming that they are from an independent Praśasti-kāvya praising him. It may be rightly inferred that Jaitrasiṁha, Vastupāla's son, was also instrumental in the copying down of a number of books, as there is a paper-manuscript in the Vāḍī Pārśvanātha Bhāṇḍār at Pāṭaṇ, which has at its end a Praśasti of 13 verses,[2] Which gives the genealogy from Caṇḍapa to Jaitrasiṁha, and mentions that the book under reference was copied down for the spiritual welfare of the latter's son, Pratāpasiṁha. Originally the book must be on palm-leaves, from which it was taken down along with the Pras'asti, when most of the manuscripts of the above-mentioned Bhāṇḍār were transcribed on paper in the fifteenth century with a view to preserving the contents of the old and worn-out palm-leaf manuscripts.

1 For the text of these four verses, see PBC, p. 400.
2 JPPS, pp. 9–10.

CHAPTER IX

STOTRAS

The Stotra in Sanskrit literature

221. Stotra or hymn is one of the well-practised forms of Sanskrit literature, and some of its productions are very remarkable specimens of lyrical poetry. In fact, of all the types of Sanskrit literature, the hymn is the oldest, because the earliest religious book of India, viz. the Ṛgveda, is a collection of hymns. These hymns have for their subject Agni, Indra, Varuṇa, Uṣas, and many other deities. In course of time, with the change of religious ideas and forms of worship, Viṣṇu and his various Avatāras and Śiva became the principal deities; and hymns began to be composed about them. Śakti in her various forms was also worshipped and hymns were addressed to her. The epics have a large number of hymns to various gods and goddesses uttered by different characters, and the Purāṇas and the Tantras afford many specimens of hymns, and we also find that collection of a hundred or thousand names of a god or a goddess become numerous. But the Stotra has established as an independent variety of lyric poetry, and the great popularity enjoyed by the Śivamahimnastotra, the Śivāparādhakṣamāpanastotra, the Sūryaśataka of Mayūra, and a number of Stotras–both long and short–ascribed to Śaṁkarācārya is an eloquent testimony to its value as a poetic form, and upto the most recent times the literary form of Stotra has been cultivated throughout India.

The Rāmas'ataka of Somes'vara

222. Among the literary works of the men of letters patronized by Vastupāla we find the composition of a number of Stotras also, the most noteworthy among them being the Rāmaśataka of Someśvara. The Rāmaśataka is unprinted, and available in manuscript-form. It is a hymn to Rāma in one hundred verses as its very name suggests, and the metre uniformly used throughout is the Sragdharā. Verse 101, which is not, really speaking, the part of the hymn proper, is in the Upajāti metre and mentions the name of the author. The hymn praises Rāma, and is evidently modelled on the Sūryaśataka of Mayūra and the Caṇḍīśataka of Bāṇa, which are also hundred-verse hymns in the Sragdharā metre, and were popular in Sanskrit literature.[1] The praise in the Rāmaśataka follows the course of biographical events in Rāma's life. Verses 1–6 are devoted to his birth and child-plays and verses 6–8 to his training in various lores. Then we find protection of Viśvāmitra's sacrifice by Rāma (vv. 9–11), the killing of Tāḍakā and other demons (vv. 12–15), redemption of Ahalyā (vv. 16–19), Rāma's coming to Mithilā with Vis'vāmitra, breaking of Śiva's bow and marriage with Sītā (vv. 20–31), going back from Mithilā and meeting Paras'urāma (vv. 32–39), Das'aratha's desire to install Rāma as the king and Rāma's going to the forest (vv. 40–56), wanderings in the forest, the abduct-

1 **The Jinaśataka of Jambu Guru (published in the Kāvyamālā, Vol. VII) also is in 100 Sragdharā verses and appears to have continued the same tradition.**

ion of Sītā, and Rāma's meeting with the monkeys (vv. 57–71), Hanumān's meeting with Sītā, building of the bridge on the ocean and the attack on Laṁkā (vv. 72–81), battle of Rāma and Rāvaṇa and the killing of the latter (vv. 82–85), Sītā's purification in fire, Rāma's coming to Ayodhyā, and coronation in the end (vv. 96–100).

223. Again, in this Stotra we find Someśvara as a poet of high calibre. As pointed out earlier, though his Rāmas'ataka has been modelled on the Sūryaśataka and the Caṇḍīśataka, it is nowhere a verbal imitation of these older poems; we can only say that the poet was inspired by the popularity of these works. The Rāmaśataka is entirely free from the artificiality of some of the latter hymns–on the contrary, it has the quality of Prasād or perspicuity, like his Mahākāvya, Kīrtikaumudī. It has that heart–felt fervour and devotion required in this type of lyrical poetry. These one hundred chiselled verses in Sragdharā also speak for the author's mastery over the longer metres. And this one hymn is enough to reserve a place of honour in the Stotra–literature for its author, Someśvara. I may quote here a few specimens from his poem. The poet praising Rāma refers to his childhood—

पर्यङ्के पङ्कजन्माङ्कितलविचलत्पाणिपादप्रवालः
खेलन् बालः प्रमोदं प्रथयतु मिथिलानाथपुत्रीपतिर्वः ।
पित्रोः पोतप्रतीतिः समभवदुचिता पुंसि यस्मिन् पुराणे
पारं संसारवार्द्धेर्न हि परमपरस्तं विना नेतुमीशः ॥

(v. 2)

The poet describes in a charming verse as to how different persons looked at Rāma—

पुण्यानां प्राक्तनानां फलमिति जनकेनान्तरात्मेति मात्रा
साक्षादक्षीयमाणप्रणयनिधिरिति भ्रातृभिश्च त्रिभिर्यः ।
नीतिमूर्त्तीत्यमात्यैः परपुरुष इति ज्ञानिभिः ज्ञायमानः
प्राप प्रौढिं क्रमेण द्रढयतु नितरां राघवः सः श्रियं वः ॥

(v. 6)

How the vernal beauty welcomed Rāma when he entered the forest—

सन्दोहे पादपानां विकिरति कुसुमस्तोममुच्चैः पिकानां
गीते नृत्यं श्रितासु व्रततिषु मरुता कीचकेषु ध्वनत्सु ।
संगीतं काननेन प्रथितमिव मुदा यत्र नाथे त्रयाणां
लोकानामभ्युपेते स भवदवभयात् पातु पीतांबरो वः ॥

(v. 55)

Look to the Māyā of Rāma: Rāvaṇa attained salvation, because he was killed by Rāma, but while living he experienced the pains of hell, as he saw the relatives dying before his own eyes:

तस्माद् वः सर्वसिद्धिर्भवतु भगवतो भूरिमायाप्रपञ्चः
पञ्चत्वं प्राप्य यस्मादगमदमरतां राक्षसः सोऽपि सम्यक् ।
किन्तु श्रीकान्तकान्ताहठहरणमहापातकार्त्तेन काम-
व्यामोहान्धेन बन्धुक्षयनिरयरुजः सेहिरे जीवतेव ॥

(v. 92)

The Stotra in Jaina literature

224. Since very old times the Jainas also have vied with the poets of other sects in the sphere of religious lyrical poetry, as in almost all the literary forms. The Jaina literature can show a large number of Stotras in praise of various Tīrthaṁkaras and other deities as well as some philosophical Stotras, both in Sanskrit and Prākrit. Some of them are written for purposes of the cult, while several others are worthy of being appreciated as lyrical poems too, the earliest known hymn being the Uvasaggahara-stotra, a hymn to Pārs'vanātha in 5 stanzas, ascribed to Bhadrabāhu, who is believed by some scholars to have lived in the second century after Mahāvīra's death.[1] According to Muni Srī Puṇyavijayajī, this Bhadrabāhu is identical with Bhadrabāhu, the author of the Niryuktis on several Jaina Sūtras, but different from his name-sake who is the author of the Cheda Sūtras, and that he lived in the first half the of 6th century A. D. (vide Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyālaya Rajat Mahotsava Granth, pp. 185–201). Among other old and well-known Stotras of the Jainas, the Bhaktāmara-stotra of Māṇatuṁga[2] and the Kalyāṇamandira-stotra of Sidhhasena Divākara[3] and the Svayambhū-stotra of Samantabhadra[4] deserve mention. After that, right upto the 19th century we find numerous Stotras composed by the Jaina ascetics including the great Hemacandra as well as by lay adherents, in Sanskrit, Prākrit and Apabhraṁs'a as well as in old Gujarātī and several other regional dialects, and a few collections of such stotras like the Kāvyamālā, Vol. VII, the Jaina Stotra Sandoha and the Jaina Stotra Samuccaya have already been published.

The Stotras by Vastupāla

225. Among the Stotras composed by the lay adherents those by Vastupāla are remarkable not only because they are from the pen of a notable historical personality, but also because they are not devoid of literary merits of the religious lyrics. Vastupāla has four Stotras to his credit. (i) The Ādinātha Stotra is a hymn to the first Tīrthaṁkara in 12 verses. The hymn is called मनोरथमय, because in it the author expresses his ardent longings in religious and philosophical matters. In the last verse the author mentions himself as the गूर्जरचक्रवर्तिसचिवः or minister of the Gurjar sovereign. (ii) The Nemistava is a hymn to Neminātha in 10 verses, the hymn proper being an Aṣṭaka containing eight verses, because in the last two verses the author introduces himself. Here (v. 9) the poet calls himself शारदाधर्मसूनु or a spiri-

1 Winternitz, A History of Indian Literature, Vol. II, p. 431. The Sūtrakṛtāṁga Sūtra contains a chapter called वीरत्थय (Skt. वीरस्तव) which is, really speaking, a hymn to Mahāvīra.

2 According to some lists of teachers, Mānatuṁga lived as early as the beginning of the 3rd century A. D. Other traditions point to the 5th, 7th, 8th or 9th century as his period (Ibid, p. 549).

3 Some have put Sidhhasena Divākara in the earlier centuries of the Christian era, while others believe that he flourished as late as the 7th century A. D. (Ibid, p. 477).

4 Samantabhadra is not later than the 7th centry A. D. For his time, vide Mahendrakumar Shastri, Prameyakamalamārtaṇḍa, intro., pp. 30–32.

tual son of Sarasvatī. (iii) The Ambikā Stotra is a hymn in 10 verses to Ambikā who is the Śāsana-devatā of Neminātha and also the Kuladevatā of the Prāgvāṭa community to which Vastupāla belonged. This is also an Aṣṭaka, because in the 9th verse, there is a prayer for blessings to the devotee and the 10th verse mentions the author. Here Ambikā is described as 'the blessed one, born on the Himālayas' and 'Haimavatī.' (v. 1), 'Kuṣmāṇḍī,' (vv. 2, 3, and 4), 'honoured by Puruṣottama' (v. 6) and also as 'Sarasvatī' (v. 9), which shows how the Jaina and Brāhmanical elements were inextricably mixed in the later Jaina patheon. (iv) The Ārādhanā is a simple devotional lyric in 10 verses, speaking about the emptiness of worldly existence and reality of Dharma. Its first verse (न कृतं सुकृतं किञ्चित्०) is found in the Prabandhacintāmaṇi (v. 234), and the Prabandhakos'a (v. 337), and the Purātanaprabandhasaṁgraha (v. 202), and there it is put in Vastupāla's mouth when he was in his last days (vide para 63). Prabandhas are probably right in doing so, because in the last verse the author expresses his resolve to abandon food and thus desires to attain death by fasting like a pious Jaina.

226. If the Naranārāyaṇānanda shows Vastupāla as a remarkable poet who attempted the form of the Mahākāvya, in these hymns we see him as a good lyric poet. The hymns are full of devotional fervour and at the same time reveal the author's command over literary style. A few examples will be sufficient to prove this. In what an ardent manner the author expresses his longing in the Ādinātha Stotra–

संसारव्यवहारतो रतिमऽतिव्यावर्त्य कर्त्तव्यतावार्तामप्यपहाय चिन्मयतया त्रैलोक्यमालोकयन् ।
श्रीशत्रुञ्जयशैलगह्वरगुहामध्ये निबद्धस्थितिः श्रीनाभेय कदा लभेय गलितज्ञेयाभिमानं मनः ॥
(v. 5)

आस्यं कस्य न वीक्षितं ? क न कृता सेवा ? न के वा स्तुताः ? तृष्णापूरपराहतेन विहिता केषां च नाभ्यर्थना ? ।
तत् त्रातर् विमलाद्रिनन्दनवनीकल्पैककल्पद्रुम त्वामासाद्य कदा कदर्थनमिदं भूयोऽपि नाहं सहे ? ॥
(v. 9)[1]

And his lofty praise of Neminātha also deserves notice–

जयत्यसमसंयमः शमितमन्मथप्राभवो भवोदधिमहातरिर्दुरितदावपाथोधरः ।
तपस्तपनपूर्वदिक्कलुषकर्मवल्लीगजः समुद्रविजयाङ्गजस्त्रिभुवनैकचूडामणिः ॥
(v. 1)

The Sarva-Jina-Sādhāraṇa Stavana of Naracandra

227. The Sarva-Jina-Sādhāraṇa Stavana of Naracandra is a hymn in 11 verses of Mālinī metre. As the very name of the poem suggests, it is not addressed to any particular Jina, but it is a hymn in general terms, such as would apply to all the Jinas. The hymn hardly possesses any noteworthy feature, except that every foot of each stanza begins with a charming alliteration, e. g.–

हरसि हरसिताभिः सूत्रितज्ञानलक्ष्म्या नयन नयनभाभिस्त्रातरज्ञानपङ्कम् ।
तमसि तमसितिम्ना लोकमाक्रान्तमिन्दुः करनिकरनिपातैः किं न शुभ्रीकरोति ॥
(v. 7)

1 The verse is also found in the PK (v. 291) and the PPS (v. 172). It is noteworthy that in both these works the verse has been correctly ascribed to Vastupāla.

CHAPTER X

ANTHOLOGIES

Two types of Sanskrit anthologies

228. Anthologies are compilations of verses on several topics. They may be the composition of one author, like the Subhāṣitaratnasandoha (994 A. D.) of Amitagati or a selection from earlier authors, like the Kavīndravacanasamuccaya (end of the 10th century A. D.) and like several other well-known anthologies compiled thereafter. In the anthologies of the latter class, sometimes the names of the poets are given with the individual verses, and as such they are important for the history of literature, though in the majority of cases we have no evidence to determine the dates of the poets. But in this chapter we have to deal with the anthologies of the former class, viz. those from the pen of a single author. They are the Karṇāmṛtaprapā of Somes'vara and the Vivekapādapa and the Vivekakalikā of Narendraprabhasūri.

The Karṇāmṛtaprapā of Somes'vara

229. The Karṇāmṛtaprapā is a collection of religious, devotional and didactic Muktakas composed by the author, and contains 217 verses in different metres. The work is unprinted, and available only in manuscript-form. Some of its verses can be traced, as will be seen in the next paragraph, to some of Somes'vara's other works, while others cannot be so traced. They may have been from some other lost works of the author of which these might have formed a part, or more probably, they may have been new compositions for this particular purpose. In the colophon, the work has been designated as a Subhaṣitāvali or collection of Subhāṣitas.[1] That the aim of the author is mainly religious and didactic is clear from the Maṁgalācaraṇa, which extends to first nine verses. The author salutes to Kṛṣṇa and Śiva to make an end of his Karmas, then salutes the sacred Ganges and pays homage to the three Vedas residing in his own mouth (v. 5), and in verse 7 he says that the aim of his work is 'good instruction' (Sādhubodha). The work is divided into 14 different sections, each devoted to a single theme, like Lakṣmī or wealth (vv. 10–19), desire (vv. 20–25), anger (v. 26), greed (v. 27), form of the Kali (vv. 28–39), censure of bad kings (vv. 40–56), the bad people (vv. 57–65), the learned men (vv. 66–70), fate (vv. 71–79), indifference to worldly objects (vv. 80–109); in addition, there are miscellaneous poems (vv. 110–45) which contain a number of Anyoktis, verses on quietism (vv. 146–62), didactic verses (vv. 163–96), and lastly, prayer to Kṛṣṇa (vv. 196–216), which contains some verses in praise of Śiva also. The last verse refers to the poet.

230. Verse 109 of the Karṇāmṛtaprapā describing the sorry plight of Aṇahilavāḍ, capital of the Gurjar land (मुण्डेव खण्डितनिरन्तरवृक्षखण्डा०) can be traced to the Kīrtikaumudī (II. 104). Verse 108 (सिद्धेशप्रमुखैः पुरा परिहृतं०)

1 इति श्रीठक्कुरसोमेश्वरविरचिता कर्णामृतप्रपा सुभाषितावली संपूर्णा ॥

also dilates upon the same topic, but is not to be found in any of the author's known works. Among the Anyoktis, the verse 124 (मासान् मांसलपाटलापरिमल०) is to be found in the Prabandhakos'a (v. 329) and the Vividhatīrthakalpa (p. 80), and in both these works it is correctly ascribed to Somes'vara. Verses 106 and 107 (लिइलेन तवान्तिके० and तानेव स्तुमहे महेश०) are in memory of the departed king Sidhharāja Jayasiṁha. Verses 177–96 seem to have been composed under the influence of the Carpaṭapañjarikā Stotra ascribed to Śaṁkarācārya, as both metre and style suggest. As for example–

वित्तं तदखिलमपि परिगलितं प्रादुर्भूतं शिरसि च पलितम् ।
तदपि न हृदयं विषयवितृप्तं संसेवितुमभिलष्यति कृष्णम् ॥
इयमपि दशनश्रेणी पतिता सा च समाप्ता जगदधिपतिता ।
तज्जगदाश्रयमाश्रय देवं हृदय विरंस्यसि दुःखादेवम् ॥
सत्पात्रेषु न दत्तं दानं मन्ये तत्तव दौस्थ्यनिदानम् ।
प्रणतः क्वचिदपि न स गोविन्दस्तदयं प्रहरति कालपुलिन्दः ॥
(v. 177–79)

These may be compared with the following verses of the Carpaṭapañjarī–

अङ्गं गलितं पलितं मुण्डं दशनविहीनं जातं तुण्डम् ।
वृद्धो याति गृहीत्वा दण्डं तदपि न मुञ्चत्याशापिण्डम् ॥
(v. 6)

गेयं गीतानामसहस्रं ध्येयं श्रीपतिरूपमजस्रम् ।
नेयं सज्जनसंगे चित्तं देयं दीनजनाय च वित्तम् ॥
(v. 13)

Though Somes'vara has given these 20 verses as a part of his anthology, they form an independent didactic-philosophical poem and as such deserves notice.

231. If the Kīrtikaumudī shows Somes'vara's success in the Mahākāvya form, his Karṇāmṛtaprapā testifies to his being equally an adept in the composition of the Muktakas. It is noteworthy that the author maintains almost the same poetic level throughout the work, and most of the verses from the Karṇāmṛtaprapā can be cited as excellent examples of gnomic and didactic poetry. The diction is very simple and forceful, and one feels as if the author is inspired by a religious motive. I shall quote here a few verses. In the beginning the author bows to the three Vedas which reside in his mouth, and which are like a medicine prepared from three bitter roots for persons like himself, afflicted by ignorance–

विषयरसनिरन्तरानुपानप्रकुपितमोहकफोपगुम्फितात्मा ।
त्रिकटुकगुटिकामिव त्रिवेदीं वदनगतामहमन्वहं नमामि ॥
(v. 5)

At another place he praises the Dhīra or stout-hearted fellow–

कुरुतां विधिर्विरुद्धं तत्कृतमनुमोदतां च पिशुनजनः । न मनागपि धीरमनाः कुप्यति तस्मै च तस्मै च ॥
(v. 78)

He has a fling at the rich people, generally averse to learning–

धत्ते व्याकरणं न कोऽपि कवितां कुत्रापि नार्थत्यसौ तर्कं मर्कटवन्न कोऽपि निकटीकर्तुं कदापीच्छति ।
वेदादुद्विजते जनस्तदपरं नैवाल्पमप्यस्ति मे भ्रातर्जल्प पणेन केन तदहं वित्तं धनिभ्यो लभे ॥

(v. 98)

The author expresses his heart-felt desire for doing religious meditation in a lonely place–

नगोपान्ते कान्ते क्वचिदपि निकुञ्जे श्रुतिजपैरुपेन्द्रध्यानैर्वा सकलमपि कालं गमयतः ।
हिमाकारं हारि त्रिदशतटिनीवारि पिबतः कदा कन्दैर्वृत्तिर्मम शमरतेरीह भविता ॥

(v. 152)

And he is determined to worship the feet of Dāmodara in any circumstances–

स्वयं श्रीरायातु प्रकृतिचपला यातु यदि वा शिवाः कश्चिद् वाचो वदतु यदि वा वक्तु विरसाः ।
तथाप्येते भ्रातर्न खलु विलसामो न च वयं विषीदामो दामोदरचरणचर्यासु रसिकाः ॥

(v. 159)

He advises ignorant in the following expressive words–

चित्तं दमय मा कूर्चं वृत्तं संस्कुरु मा वपुः । गीतां च शृणु मा गीतं पुरुषं पश्य मा स्त्रियम् ॥

(v. 164)

In the end he prays the divine father to save him—the poet—from worldly existence–

त्वमसि न तथा तात ध्यातः प्रमादितया मया फलमभिमतं निःशङ्कस्त्वां यथाऽहमिहार्पये ।
तदपि करुणात्मानं मत्वा भवन्तमुपाश्रितस्तदवतु जवान्मामेतस्माद् भवाभिभवाद् भवान् ॥

(v. 216)

It hardly requires to be said that certain sections of the anthology betray influences of the Nītiśataka and the Vairāgyaśataka, though it is to the author's credit that those influences are not verbal, but only in the matter of treatment and style. It is but natural that a later poet like Someśvara should derive inspiration from a great predecessor like Bhartṛhari.

The Vivekapādapa and the Vivekakalikā of Narendraprabha

232. The Vivekapādapa and the Vivekakalikā are two collections of verses on Jaina religious and philosophical topics from the pen of Narendraprabhasūri. Unfortunately, the only palm-leaf manuscript (no. 52 of the incomplete section, in the Saṁghavī Pāḍā Bhāṇḍār at Pāṭaṇ) in which these two anthologies are found is fragmentary, and hence the works are available in a fragmentary state. From the figures on the last folio of the Vivekapādapa we know that the complete work would contain 421 verses, but only 109 verses are available from the extant folios. In the same way the Vivekakalikā has 110 verses, but 69 out of them are to be found in the manuscript. Extant portion of the former work is uniformly in the Anuṣṭup metre, except the two Pras'astis'lokas which are in the Śārdūla and the Vasantatilakā respectively, while the latter work is composed in a variety of metres. Though the author has intended both the works as collections of verses on Jaina religious topics, many of the s'lokaṣ are in the nature of sayings on general morality, good

conduct and human virtues. Though the writings of Narendraprabha cannot be compared in literary merit with the Karuṇāmṛtaprapā, his verses are simple and touching. As for example, he gives a verse on the value of mercy in human life–

दयादयितया शून्ये मनोलीलागृहे नृणाम् । दानादिदूताहूतोऽपि धर्मोऽयं नावतिष्ठते ॥

(VP, v. 24)

Praising the Guru he says–

दिनं न तपनं विना न शशिनं विना कौमुदी श्रियो न सुकृतं विना न जगती विना विक्रमम् ।
कुलं न तनयान्विना न समतां विना निर्वृतिर्गुरूंश्च न विना नृणां भवति धर्मतत्त्वश्रुतिः ॥

(VK, v. 12)

The author gives several good verses on speaking truth, out of which one may be quoted–

विवेकस्य प्राणाः श्रुतरसरहस्यं शुभधियः प्रकारः प्राकारः सुचरितपुरस्योन्नततरः ।
गुणानां जीवातुः प्रशमदमसन्तोषनिकषः सुखश्रीपर्य्यंको वचनमनलीकं सुकृतिनाम् ॥

(VK, v. 39)

And he pays homage to Jñāna or knowledge, fancying it to be a divine being–

किं कृत्यं किमकृत्यमेव किमुपादेयं च हेयं च किं देवः कश्च गुरुश्च कः किमथवा तत्त्वं कुतत्त्वं च किम् ।
संसारश्च क एव मुक्तिरपि केत्येवं यतः सर्वतो निश्चीयेत विवेकिभिर्भगवते ज्ञानाय तस्मै नमः ॥

(VK, v. 80)

CHAPTER XI

PRABANDHAS

The Prabandha as a form of literature; Prabandha as material for history

233. The Prabandha is a form of literature peculiar to Gujarāt and Mālvā, and especially cultivated by the Jaina writers. The name Prabandha is given to a historical anecdote generally written in simple Sanskrit prose, and sometimes in verse. The Prabandhacintāmaṇi of Merutuṁga (1305 A. D.), the Prabandhakos'a of Rājas'ekharasūri (1349 A. D.), the Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa of Jinaprabhasūri (completed in 1333 A. D.) and the Bhojaprabandha of Ballāla (circa 16th century A. D.) are well-known instances of the Prabandhas in prose, while the Prabhāvakacarita of Prabhācandrasūri (1277 A. D.) is a collection of Prabandhas in verse. Rājas'ekhara, the author of the Prabandhakos'a, has tried, in the introductory portion of his book,[1] to make a distinction between a Caritra and a Prabandha. According to him, the Caritras are the biographies of the Tīrthaṁkaras, of the Cakravartins or sovereigns according to the Jaina mythology, of ancient kings, and also of the religious pontiffs upto Ārya Rakṣitasūri, who died in the year 557 after Mahāvīra or in 30 A. D. Accounts of the persons who flourished after Ārya Rakṣita, monks as well as laymen, have been given the name Prabandha by Rājaśekhara. We cannot say whether Rājas'ekhara has some older authority for making this distinction or whether it is of his own making. Whatever the case may be, this type of distinction in nomenclature has not been always observed in actual compositions, because the works dealing with the life of persons like Kumārapāla, Vastupāla and Jagaḍu who flourished as late as in the 12th and 13th century have been styled as Caritra, e. g. the Kumārapālacaritra of Jinamaṇḍana (1335-36 A. D.), the Vastupālacaritra of Jinaharṣa (1441 A. D.) and the Jagaḍucaritra of Sarvānanda (14th century A. D.). Though the Prabandhas deal with historical personages, the motives with which they were written "are to edify the congregations, to convince them of the magnificence and the might of the Jaina faith and to supply the monks with the material for their sermons, or when the subject is purely of worldly interest, to provide the public with pleasant entertainment."[2] Therefore, the Prabandhas should be treated not as so many real histories or biographies, but only as material to be critically used for historical purposes.

The Prabandhāvali of Jinabhadra

234. The work with which we are to deal here is the Prabandhāvali of Jinabhadra, which being composed during the life-time of Vastupāla for the instruction of his son Jaitrasiṁha (para 117), is the oldest collection of the Prabandhas discovered as yet. The only available manuscript of this work contains 40 Prabandhas in prose—most of them dealing with historical persons and topics pertaining to Gujarāt, Rājasthān and Mālvā, while a few give stories taken from folklore. It has come down in a form, which cannot be

1 PK, p. 1.

2 Bühler, Life of Hemacandrācārya, p. 3.

called complete. There appears to be some interpolations in the text, because it refers to certain events, which occurred after the death of Vastupāla, and a Prabandha (viz. the Valabhībhaṁga-Prabandha) has been literally copied down from the Prabandhacintāmaṇi.[1] Two Prabandhas from the work under review (viz. the Pādaliptācārya Prabandha and the Ratnas'rāvaka Prabandha) have been adapted in the Prabandhakos'a.[2] There we cannot say that these portions have been copied down and interpolated in the work under review by some later writer or copyist, because the style of this work is very simple and rudimentary as intended for some elementary student of Sanskrit, while that of the Prabandhakos'a is comparatively cultured and elevated, which shows that the author of the Prabandhakos'a has taken these two chapters from the Prabandhāvali of Jinabhadra, making some stylistic and linguistic improvements. It may be said on the whole that the later Prabandhas appear to be indebted to the Prabandhāvali for some of their matter, and that is why it is included by Jinavijayaji in the Purātanaprabandhasaṁgraha, which forms a companion-volume to the Prabandhacintāmaṇi. It is noteworthy that the Prabandhāvali quotes in the Pṛthvīrāja Prabandha four Apabhraṁśa verses, three out of which are traced in a corrupt form to the Pṛthvīrāja Rāso ascribed to the poet Canda, a friend and contemporary of the last Hindu sovereign of Delhi. These citations have gone a long way to show that the published Pṛthvīrāja Rāso is not a later work in toto, as some scholars are inclined to believe, but that the Rāso has very old nucleus, which is earlier than at least 1234 A. D., the date of Jinabhadra's work.[3]

235. The Prabandhāvali has got a peculiar literary importance. It is an example of a type of literary medium in which Sanskrit was, so to say, vernacularized. It popularized the knowledge of Sanskrit and served as a stepping-stone to the more advanced study of Sanskrit, at least among the Vais'ya classes of the Gurjarades'a. Thus the language of the Prabandhāvali is replete not only with Prākritisms, but also with the words taken from the regional dialect of the time, so much so that it would be difficult for the reader who does not know something of Prākrits and of old and modern Gujarātī to grasp the meaning of certain words and expressions. They are also found in other Prabandhas and some of the Kathā-works written by the Jainas of Gujarāt, and are generally unknown to other parts of India. It may be noted in this connection that in ancient and mediaeval India, Sanskrit was not merely the language of the priestly class and the scholars. It was also the language of the court and of diplomacy, and it was a spoken language down to comparatively recent times. In Gujarāt, even after the establishment of Muslim rule the legal documents were written in a colloquial Sanskrit, and they were accepted by the courts for the purpose of registration.[4] Sanskrit was even understood by a considerable part of the population which

1 PPS, intro., p. 8.
2 Ibid, p. 7.
3 Ibid, pp. 8-10.
4 PT, Vol. IV, pp. 1ff.; JGRS, Vol. XI, pp. 89 ff.

did not itself use it. "Of course, the Sanskrit spoken or understood by those who were no scholars, was a popular and colloquial one, not the highly artificial language of Kāvya verse and prose. The speakers of this colloquial Sanskrit did not study Pāṇini or Hemacandra, but such books as the Mugdhāvabodhamauktika. The Śvetāmbar authors of Gujarāt used this colloquial Sanskrit in their stories in order to make them intelligible to their public."[1] Not that the Jaina authors were incapable of expressing themselves in literary Sanskrit, but they tried to approach the general public by the style which may be described as a type of 'vernacular-Sanskrit,' as pointed out above, and may be compared with a similar mixed language of the northern Budhhists, known as the 'Gāthā Sanskrit,' the language of works like the Lalitavistara and the Mahāvastu. Prof. Zachariae has published a list of words which exclusively occur in the Kāshmīrian authors, and Prof. Schmidst has supplemented this list.[2] It would be interesting from literary, linguistic as well as from the cultural point of view if such a list—which is bound to be a lengthy one—is prepared from the Jaina writers of Gujarāt. Dr. Hertel in his edition (pp. 291–95) of the Pañcākhyāna of Pūrṇabhadra and Dr. Upādhye in his introduction (pp. 101–10) to the Bṛhat Kathākośa of Hariṣeṇa, also a a Jaina writer from Gujarāt, have given lists of words peculiar to Jaina Sanskrit occurring in their respective texts; and a large number of these words can be shown as related etymologically, phonetically and semantically to the forms prevalent in old and modern Gujarātī. I shall give here a short, but representative list of such words from the Prabandhāvali—घर (pp. 13, 32; Prākrit घर ∠ Skt. गृह, Guj. घर, 'a house'), सलसलितम् (p. 13; Guj. ससस्युं, 'moved'), महीआरी (p. 14; <Skt. *मथितकारी>महिअआरी, Guj. महियारी, 'a milk-maid'), कुतिगिया (p. 47; from Skt. कौतुकिकाः, cf. old Guj. कुतिग < Skt. कौतुक, 'a curiosity'. The word कुतेगिया means 'a joker.'), दोसिक (p. 39; Guj. दोसी ∠ Skt. दौष्यिक, 'a cloth-merchant), ओलगा (p. 54; 'service.' The word is freely used as ओलग and ओळग in old and modern Gujarātī. cf. Old Marāṭhī ओलग, वोळग; Kaṇarese उळिग), घुर्घरमाला (p. 59; Guj. घूघरमाळ, 'a number of small bells'), शल्यहस्त (p. 86; lit. 'one who holds a spear in his hand,' that is, 'a state-officer.' The word is used as सेलहत्थ शेलहुत and शेलोत in old Gujarātī in the sense of 'a state-officer,' cf. the Pṛthvīcandracaritra-1422 A. D.-printed in the Prācīna Gurjara Kāvya-saṁgraha, p. 128; Pethaḍa Rāsa-14th century-v. 22; Mādhavānala-Kāmakandalā Prabandha, VII. 482 and 494. It is also preserved as a surname, शेलत, among the Kheḍāvāla Brāhmins of Gujarāt, though obliterated from general usage in the current language. Vide my paper in the Gujarātī journal Budhhiprakāśa, January, 1952), द्वारभट्ट (p. 86; cf. Guj. बारहट्ट, बारोट, 'a bard'), अंधारी (p. 86; Guj. अंधारी ∠ Skt. *अंधकारी, 'black cellar of the prison'), भारिका (p. 89; Guj. भारी, 'a bundle of wood'), टिप्पा (p. 89; from Skt. तिप् 'to sprinkle'; Guj. टींपुं, 'a drop'), खडखडा (p. 89; Guj. खटखट, 'trouble'), मेलापक (p. 89; old Guj. मेळावो, 'military array'), धगड (p. 90, 'a Muslim warrior,' cf. Guj. धगडो, 'a bully'), धाटी (p. 102; Guj. धाड, 'a raid'), मेलित (p. 103; old Guj. मेल्यो, 'plundered'; cf. पडी भेल प्रासादि देवनइ, भागां कुंची तालां । 'The shrine of the god was

1 Hertel, On the Literature of the Śvetāmbars of Gujarāt, pp. 17–18.

2 Ibid, p. 19;

plundered (पडी भेल) and the keys and locks were broken'–The Kānhaḍade Prabandha of Padmanābha, composed in 1456 A. D., I. 93). Some words of Persian and Arabic origin like दुर्वेन (p. 86; Persian *Durvish* 'a religious man') and मसीति (p. 86; Arabic *Masjid* 'a mosque') are also adapted here. Some of the words cited above are also to be found in other New Indo-Aryan languages of India, but that does not weaken our main argument, because the author lived in Gujarāt, and it is but natural that he adapted certain colloquial words and expressions from the spoken language with which he was most familiar.

236. Though the Prabandhāvali of Jinabhadra is written in this type of Sanskrit prose, it is occasionally sprinkled with a number of verses in Sanskrit, Prākrit and also in Apabhraṁśa. The Apabhraṁśa verses are mostly in the Dūhā metre, and they appear to have been taken by the author from folk-literature. It would be interesting to refer in this connection to the Apabhraṁśa verses put in the mouth of Sonaladevī queen of Khaṁgāra, the chief of Jīrṇadūrga (modern Junāgaḍh), when he was slain by the forces of Siddharāja Jayasiṁha. The Prabandhāvali quotes 13 such verses (pp. 34–35). Six out of these are found with slight variations in the Prabandhacintāmaṇi (p. 65), which was composed 71 years later, and it has two more which are not available in the Prabandhāvali. All these verses are still widely current in the folk-lore of Gujarāt and Saurāṣṭra, though naturally they are found in the modern linguistic grab.[1] But their prevalence throughout a long period extending over more than seven hundred years speaks for the popularity of this kind of folk-literature, specimens of which have been preserved in the works like this Prabandhāvali.

1 For minute linguistic comparision of the Apabhraṁśa Dūhās from the Prabandhacintāmaṇi with their modern Gujarātī versions, vide N. B. Divatia, Manomukura (Guj.), Vol. II, pp. 27 ff.

CHAPTER XII

A COLLECTION OF JAINA DHARMAKATHĀS

Dharmakathā-literature of the Jainas

237. Narrating entertaining stories and listening to them are deep-rooted in human nature, as we find from the folk-lore of all the countries of the world. The folk-stories have been adapted in literature merely as charming fiction or have been utilized for various purposes, both secular and religious. Talking of Indian literature, the lost Bṛhatkathā of which Prākrit and Sanskrit versions are found in the Vasudeva-Hiṇḍi (about 5th century A. D.), and the Kathāsarit-sāgara and the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī (both composed in the 11th century A. D.) was a great store-house of secular stories, collected with the sole purpose of literary entertainment. The Pañcatantra is a famous story-book in which the folk-tales are utilized for teaching worldly wisdom and also the elements of politics, while the Jātaka and the large number of stories found in Jaina literature are the instances of Dharmakathā or story used for religious purposes.

238. Budhhists and the Jainas were great story-tellers, because story was one of the means by which their religious precepts could be preached in a popular form. The Jaina canon is traditionally divided into four Anuyogas or sections, of which one is the Dharmakathānuyoga which deals with religious stories, and the Jñātādharmakathā has been considered as a representative text of that section. The Prākrit and Sanskrit commentaries of the Jaina canonical works contain not only a mass of ancient traditions and legends, but also numerous folk-tales and stories, and the versified Caritras of the Tīrthaṁkaras and other religious personalities were often used as frame-work in which all types of stories could be inserted. But apart from all these, the Jaina authors have to their credit a vast story-literature in Sanskrit, Prākrit, Apabhraṁśa and modern Indian languages. "All these works, be they stories in plain prose or in simple verse or elaborate poems, novels or epics, are all essentially sermons. They are never intended for mere entertainment, but always serve the purpose of religious instruction and edification."[1]

239. The Jaina literature can show scores of story-works, but a great majority of them have been composed after the 10th century. As we go to the earlier centuries the number of available works progressively decreases, and we hardly get ten works in all composed during the first millenium after Christ. Pādalipta's great religious novel, Taraṁgavatī (before the 5th century A. D.) is known only through a shorter version prepared by Nemicandra about 1000 years later; and other ancient works like the Malayavatī, the Magadhasenā, the Bandhumatī and the Sulocanā are known only through literary references.[2] The Vasudeva-Hiṇḍi of Saṁghadāsa is a Jaina version in Prākrit of the lost Bṛhatkathā, and presents itself as

1 Winternitz, A History of Indian Literature, Pt. II, p. 521.

2 JSS, Vol. III, p. 194.

a monumental remain of the Jaina Dharmakathā-literature which flourished after the Āgama-period. The Samarāicca-kahā of Haribhadrasūri, the Kuvalayamālākathā of Udyotanasūri and the Upamitibhavaprapañcakathā of Sidhharṣi are three other old Dharmakathās, to which I have already referred in the first chapter. The Bṛhatkathākośa of Hariṣeṇa is a collection of Dharmakathās composed in the 10th century A. D. In later times the Jainas, in addition to composing long and elaborate Kathā-works on the ancient model, also compiled books of stories,[1] in which the stories are either inserted within a frame-story, in the manner familiar in Indian narrative literature or else they are just told one after another.

Kathāratnākara of Naracandrasūri

240. The Kathāratnākara or Kathāratnasāgara of Naracandrasūri with which we have to deal here is a work belonging to the later category. It is unprinted and available only in manuscript-form. The Granthāgra of the work is 2091 s'lokas;[2] It has been divided into 15 Taraṁgas or chapters and each chapter contains a story illustrating the merit attained by adhering to some principle taught by the Jaina religion. It is possible that the author may have been inspired, in calling his work Kathāratnākara and dividing it into Taraṁgas, by the Kathāsaritsāgara of Somadeva, though there is no similarity between their contents. The whole work has been written in the Anuṣṭup metre, but the concluding verse of every chapter is in a different metre. Virtues like chastity, penance, giving donations, humility, non-killing of living beings, non-stealing, serving the elders, not envying others, repeating the Navakāra Mantra for attaining religious merits, etc. have been extolled in these stories, by showing how the principal characters got the fruit of these moral and religious practices either in this or in the next birth. The narrative is dull and monotonous in style, and the work has to give nothing very valuable from the view-point of literature. Though it is from the pen of a scholar like Naracandra and composed at Vastupāla's request (para 119) it seems to have been written with an eye on a purely religious audience, probably for the daily Vyākhyāna, and the principal aim of the author seems to impress on the mind of the lay adherents the importance of good conduct from the point of view of the Jaina religion. It may be noted here that the Kathāratnākara is a collection of Jaina religious stories composed in comparatively earlier times, as the majority of the Kathākos'as are later than our author.[3]

1 JRK, pp. 65–67. For a short survey of some such works, vide Winternitz, op. cit., 541 ff.

2 JRK, p. 66.

3 Ibid, pp. 64–67; Upadhye, Bṛhat Kathākośa, intro., pp. 39 ff.

CHAPTER XIII

APABHRAMŚA RĀSAS

A short history of the Rāsaka or Rāsa

241. Though this book is mainly devoted to Sanskrit literary contribution of the literary circle of Vastupāla, it would not be inappropriate here to review two Apabhraṁśa Rāsas composed by the poets of the circle, because they are also a part of the great literary activity patronized by the minister. These two Rāsas are the Revantagiri Rāsu of Vijayasena-sūri and the Ābu Rāsa of Pālhaṇaputra. But before coming to these poems we shall consider what is to be understood by the literary form of Rāsa or Rāsu (Skt. Rāsaka) which was very popular in Apabhraṁśa as well as in old Gujarātī literature.

242. The Rāsaka was not meant for mere recitation or reading, but was composed with a view to be sung and danced. This type of composition which whould be compared to ballet dance, must have been originally a piece of folk-dance and music. Later on, when a comprehensive survey of the different types of actable literary compositions was made, they were classified under two main heads- (i) the one included the compositions which mainly provided for recitation and acting, and (ii) the other provided for singing and dancing. The Rāsaka from which the form Rāsa or Rāsu is derived comes under the latter head. The oldest extant reference to this classification—which includes Ḍombikā, Bhāṇa, Prasthāna, Ṣidgaka, Bhāṇikā, Rāmākrīda, Hallīsaka and Rāsaka—iṣ found in the Abhinavabhāratī of Abhinavagupta (circa 1000 A. D.), and there Rāsaka has been defined as follows-

अनेकनर्तकीयोज्यं चित्रताललयान्वितम् । आचतुष्पष्टियुगलाद्रासकं मसृणोद्धतम् ॥[1]

from which we know that the Rāsaka was a Geya Rūpaka, was full of charming rhythm, in which a number of dancing women took part, in which a maximum of 64 pairs were allowed to play, and which was at times soft and excited. Later on, we find that the classification and definition mentioned above were adopted by Hemacandra in the Kāvyānu-Śāsana (VIII. 4) and by Vāgbhaṭa II in his Kāvyānuśāsana (p. 18). Rāmacandra, the pupil of Hemacandra, in his Nāṭyadarpaṇa (Vol. I, pp. 214–15) and Viśvanātha in Sāhityadarpaṇa (Kane's ed., pp. 104–5) have also given the characteristics of Rāsaka and Nāṭya-rāsaka. It appears that in older times, the folk-dances were current in different parts of India, though we have no definite evidence to say in what particular parts the particular type of folk-dance prevailed. In this connection we have an interesting legendary account in the Saṁgītaratnākara of Śārṁgadeva (circa 1200 A. D.), which appears to have preserved some historical traditions. We find therein that Śiva created the Tāṇḍava type of dance, while Pārvatī created the Lāsya type of dance. Pārvatī taught this dance to Uṣā,

1 Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra (G. O. S.), Vol. I, p. 183.

the daughter of Bāṇāsura and wife of Anirudhha, the grandson of Śrī Kṛṣṇa; and Uṣā, in her turn, taught it to the Gopīs of Drāravatī, and they taught it to the young women of Saurāṣṭra, through whom it spread throughout the world.[1] This tradition is corroborated by the prevalence of different types of folk-dances known as Rāsas, Rāsaḍās, Garabās and Garabīs prevalent in Gujarāt and Saurāṣṭra even to-day.

243. From all this it may be surmised that the Rāsaka or Rāsa was a type of folk-dance, comparable to the Rāsa-Krīḍā of Kṛṣṇa described in the Bhāgavata and other Purāṇas, and also to the Garabā dance peculiar to Gujarāt (alternatively known as Rāsa); it was later on adapted as a literary piece to be acted, mostly in Prākrit. That the Rāsa was actually played in public is evident from several literary references. The last verse of the Revantagiri Rāsu refers to the actual performance of the Rāsa–

रंगिहिं ए रमइ जो रासु सिरिविजयसेनसूरिनिम्मविउ ए ।
नेमिजिणु तूसइ तासु अंबिक पूरइ मणि रली ए ॥

"Jina Neminātha will favour those who play with enthusiasm this Rāsa composed by Śrī Vijayasenasūri, and goddess Ambikā will fulfill their desires."

The Saptakṣetrī Rāsu (1271 A. D.) speaks of two types of Rāsas–viz. Tālārasa and Lakuṭārasa.[2] By the former category is meant that kind of Rāsa-dance in which the timing was given by clapping of hands, while the latter category which is known in Gujarāt as Dāṇḍiā Rāsa, denotes that in which the timing is given by the short sticks (Lakuṭa) held in the hands of the dancers. Lakṣmaṇagaṇi, the author of the Supāsanāhacariya (1143 A. D.), has described the action in the Rāsa-dance as केवि उत्तालतालाउलं रासयं,[3] and thus he refers to that type of Rāsa in which timing was given by clapping of hands.

244. Thus it is clear that the Rāsa as a folk-dance and as adapted in literature was originally meant to be performed. We get a number of Rāsas from Gujarāt in Apabhraṁśa or a post-Apabhraṁśa dialect which was current in the province, the oldest available specimen of this literary form being the Bharata Bāhubali Rāsa of Śālibhadrasūri (1185 A. D.). Later on, in Old Gujarātī the Rāsa form became stereotyped and generally denoted the versified narratives from the Jaina mythology which were recited in Upāśrayas, and we have to put hundreds of works in this category.[4]

The Revantagiri Rāsu of Vijayasenasūri

245. The Rāsa is generally divided into Bhāsa (Skt. Bhāṣā) or Kaḍavaka or sometimes as in old Gujarātī literature into Dhāla, which

---

1 Saṁgītaratnākara, VII. 4–8.
2 PGKS, p. 52.
3 Munshi, Gujarāt and its Literature, p. 88.
4 For a descriptive list of such Rāsas, vide M. D. Desai, Jaina Gurjara Kavio (Guj.), Vols. I–III.

may be translated as "rhythmical verse-paragraphs". The Revantagiri-Rāsu of Vijayasenasūri has four Kaḍavakas and 62 verses in all. The first Kaḍavaka, after the benediction, refers briefly to the beautiful Soraṭha country (Southern Saurāṣṭra) where Girnār is situated (vv. 2-5), and gives the genealogy of Vastupāla, mentioning the instruction imparted to him by Vijayasenasūri and the pious deeds which it inspired (vv. 6-11), and describes the joy of the pilgrim-caravan on seeing the vernal beauty at the foot of Girnār (vv. 12-20). The second and the third Kaḍavakas give some old history of the Girnār Tīrtha and an account of the temples built there by Vastupāla, the second Kaḍavaka being interspersed with some good descriptions of the wood-land. The last Kaḍavaka praises goddess Ambikā and Neminātha, and dwells at some length on the religious greatness of Girnār. The style of the work is very simple and unassuming. Poetically the composition is interesting, and description of Girnār in the second Kaḍavaka may be regarded as worthy of note–

जिम जिम चडइं तडि कडणि गिरनारह, तिम तिम उडइं जण भवण संसारह।
जिम जिम सेउजलु अंगि पलोट्टए, तिम तिम कलिमलु सयलु ओहट्टए॥
जिम जिम वायइ वाउ तहिं निज्झरसीयलु, तिम तिम भवदुहदाहो तक्खणि तुट्टइ निच्चलु।
कोइलकलरवो मोरकेकारवो, सुम्मए महुयर महुरु गुंजारवो।
पाय चडंतह सावयालोयणी लाषारामु दिसि दीसए दाहिणी॥
जलदजालवबाले नीझरणि रमाउलु, रेहइ उज्जिलसिहरु अलि-कज्जलसामलु।
बहलवुहु धाउरसभेउणी जत्थ उलदलइ सोवन्नमइ मेउणी।
जत्थ दिप्पंति दिव्वोसही सुंदरा, गुहिर वर गरुय गंभीर गिरिकंदरा॥

(vv. 2-4)

"As the people ascend the slopes of Girnār, they close (the doors of) the house of worldly existence. As the limbs perspire with exertion, impurities of the Kali are washed away. As the winds, cool with the waters of streams, are blowing gently, the burning caused by the worries of worldly existence are ended instantly. Cooing of the cuckoo, cry of the peacock and sweet humming of the bees—are heard. While ascending the steps (of the mountain), the Śrāvakas see on the right side (the park) Lakhārāma. The peak of Girnār, enclustered by a large number of clouds, charming on account of many streams and black like the bees and the collirium, looks beautiful. (It is Girnār,) where the land having golden colour and full of various kinds of minerals, looks resplendent; where the celestial herbs are shining, and which has impenetrable, excellent, great and deep caves."

The Ābu Rāsa of Pālhaṇaputra

246. The Ābu Rāsa of Pālhaṇaputra or the son of Pālhaṇa is a poem in 50 stanzas describing the building of temples on Ābu by Vastupāla and Tejapāla. The poem is divided into Bhāsa and Ṭhavaṇī, which occur alternately. All the information supplied by this poem is available from other sources, except the fact that the image of Neminātha installed in the Ābu temple was made at Stambhatīrtha, which would show that the image-making and allied arts were flourishing at the place. Though the poem has nothing noteworthy from literary point of view, it deserves notice from the historical and linguistic standpoint as a work describing in the popular dialect a notable event of Vastupāla's times.

CHAPTER XIV

WORKS ON POETICS

Development of Alaṁkāra-literature

247. Though Sanskrit poetry goes back to the second millenium B. C.—or probably earlier—when the hymns of the Ṛgveda may have been composed, the oldest reference to anything concerning to poetics is not found before the 6th or 7th century B. C. The Alaṁkāraśāstra is not mentioned in the Vedāṁgas nor do we meet with any passage in the Vedic Saṁhitās, Brāhmaṇas or the earlier Upaniṣads in which we may find a real basis for the system of poetics.[1] In the Nirukta of Yāska (circa 700 B. C.) we find a reference to the Pūrṇā and Luptā varieties of Upamā. The Nighaṇṭu brings particles like *Iva*, *Yathā*, etc. under the crude term Upamā, and Yāska has cited a definition of Upamā by Gārgya, from among his predecessors[2], which would show that some elements of Sanskrit poetics are earlier even than Yāska, who is himself earliest extant exponent of the Veda. The great grammarian Pāṇini (circa 500 B. C.) uses technical terms like Upamā, Upamita, Sāmānya, Upamāna, etc. with a facility indicative of the fact that they were in general vogue before his time, and his grammatical analysis of the general idea of comparision is the nearest approach among early' writings to the technical conception of poetics.[3] The Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya mentions the excellences of literary compositions, and defines them in a manner which does not materially differ from the later writers on poetics.

248. Considerable development of the science of poetics in India can be seen before the Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata (circa 300 A. D.). The work contains the first available exposition of the Rasa-theory, which played a noteworthy part in the Sanskrit literary criticism and contains considerable information upon many topics pertaining to Alaṁkāraśāstra. In the 16th chapter of the Nāṭyaśāstra we get for the first time an outline of the science of poetics. It enumerates four poetic figures (Alaṁkāras), ten excellences (Guṇas), ten defects (Doṣas) and thirty-six characteristics (Lakṣaṇas) of poetic compositions. But the earliest authorities on poetics proper are Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha (circa 600 A. D.), the question of whose relative priority of age has not been finally settled as yet. "This is followed by a fruitful and creative stage, ending with Abhinavagupta, in which the theories of different schools or systems were settled in their general outlines, giving rise to four distinct schools of opinion respectively represented by the Rasa, Alaṁkāra, Rīti and Dhvani-systems. It covers more than three centuries, and includes some of the great names in the history of the discipline, like those of Bhāmaha, Udbhaṭa and Rudraṭa; of Lollaṭa, Śaṁkuka and Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka; of Daṇḍin and Vāmana; of the Dhvanikāra, Ānandavardhana and Abhina-

1 De, Sanskrit Poetics, Vol. I, p. 3–4.

2 Ibid, pp. 4–6.

3 Ibid, pp. 6–8.

vagupta; of Kuntaka, Mahimabhaṭṭa and Bhoja–all of whom helped in a constructive or destructive way to shape the different currents of thought which ultimately ran into one stream in the text-book of Mammaṭa."[1]

249. Mammaṭa (circa 1100 A. D.) is the most noteworthy figure among the writers on poetics who came after the Dhvanikāra, Ānandavardhana (circa 850 A. D.) and Abhinavagupta (circa 1000 A. D.). His Kāvyaprakāśa enjoyed a great popularity and exerted a remarkable influence in the field of Sanskrit literature, and helped in finally establishing the authority of the Rasa-dhvani school which was most ably expounded by the Dhvanyāloka. The Kāvyaprakāśa tries to synthesize in a succinct and scholarly form the tenents of different schools of Sanskrit poetics in the light of the new doctrine put forward in the Dhvanyāloka. Thus having the merit of an excellent text-book for the students, combining fulness and conciseness in its treatment, the Kāvyaprakāśa, though composed in far off Kāshmīr, began to be studied throughout the length and breadth of India within a few decades from the time of its composition, and a large number of commentaries were written on that scholarly work, so much so that a proverbial saying came into vogue in Sanskrit that the Kāvyaprakāśa has been commented upon in every house and yet it has remained a hard nut to crack.[2] Without giving up the accepted superiority of the Dhvani theory of poetry, Mammaṭa attempted to effect a compromise among the divergent schools of thought, and his views have been generally considered the most balanced theory of poetry in Sanskrit. In the mode of exposition and in the classification of the subject, the Kāvyaprakāśa has come to be regarded as a standard work, and many rhetoricians of repute thought it a matter of credit to compose commentaries on it, though they also expressed their views in independent treatises on poetics. Except in the way of further illustrations, newer definitions and keener classifications the science of poetry as described by Mammaṭa has remained almost the same since his days.[3]

250. The Kāvyaprakāśa began to be zealously studied in Gujarāt within a few years of its composition, as is shown by the fact that the great savant Hemacandra, who has written his Kāvyānuśāsana during the first half of the 12th century A. D., has based his Sūtras upon, and has quoted profusely from the Kāvyaprakāśa—at several places verbatim—and has also mentioned Mammaṭa by name.[4] It is clear that Mammaṭa's work was used as a text-book in Gujarāt even before the times of Hemacandra. When we bear in mind the possible date of the composition of the Kāvyaprakāśa (circa 1100 A. D.) and that of the Kāvyānuśāsana (about 1143 A. D.), the fact seems to be more remarkable and characteristically indicative of the culturalc ontact in ancient and media-

1 Ibid, Vol. II, p. 268.

2. काव्यप्रकाशस्य कृता गृहे गृहे टीका तथाप्येष तथैव दुर्गमः ।
This saying originally belongs to Maheśvara, a commentator of the Kāvyaprakāśa (Krishnamachariar, Classical Skt. Lit, p. 756), who probably flourished in the 17th century A. D. (De, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 179).

3 Krishnamachariar, Classical Sanskrit Literature, p. 719.

4 R. C. Parikh, intro. to the Kāvyānuśāsana, pp. 318 and 273.

eval India, when there were no speedy means of communication. It would be interesting here to note that there was considerable contact in matters of learning between Gujarāt and Kāshmīr. According to the Prabhāvakacarita, Somacandra (Hemacandra's name before he was installed as an Ācārya) is described as taking the permission of his Guru to propitiate the goddess living in Kāshmīr (काश्मीरवासिनीं देवीम्).[1] We know from the autobiographical account given in the last canto of the Vikramāṁkadevacarita of Bihlaṇa that scholars from that land of Śāradā—as Kāshmīr was called—used to come to Gujarāt. In the court of Sidhharāja Jayasiṁha there was a scholar named Utsāha who was a great grammarian and whose learning was famous in Śāradādeśa.[2] It was this Utsāha who was sent by the Kāshmīr Paṇḍitas with eight grammars from Kāshmīr, from which Hemacandra compiled his work.[3] One of the oldest commentaries on Mammaṭa's work is by the Jaina monk Māṇikyacandra who was a friend of Vastupāla, as we have already seen (para 130), the first commentary being by Kāshmīrian Rūcaka or Ruyyaka, the famous author of the Alaṁkāra-sarvasva (second and third quarters of the 12th century). Another very old commentary on the Kāvyaprakāśa written in Gujarāt is by Jayanta Bhaṭṭa (1294 A. D.), a contemporary of king Sāraṁgadeva Vāghelā of Gujarāt (vide para 128), on whose work the commentator Ratnakaṇṭha (between 1648–1681) had based his commentary.[4] There are

1 Ibid, p. 271. In old Gujarātī literature also we find a number of references to 'goddess (Sarasvatī) who is ornament of Kāshmīr.' e. g.—

(i) उरि कमलां भमराँ भमइँ **कासमीरां मुहमंडण** माइ ।
–Vīsaladeva Rāso of Nālha (1216 A. D.), v. 7

(ii) सारद तूठि ब्रह्मकुमारी, **कासमीरां मुखमंडणी** ।
—Ibid, v. 9

(iii) **कासमीर मुखमंडण** माडी, तू समी न जगि कोई भिराडी ।
–Virāṭaparva of Śālisūri (circa 15th cent. A. D.). v. 1

(iv) देव सरसति देव सरसति सुमति दातार,
कासमीर मुखमंडणी ब्रह्मपुत्रि करि वीण सोहइ ।
–Mādhavānala Chopāi of Kuśalalābha (1560 A. D.), v. 1

(v) **कासमीर-मुखमंडणी** (हंसगमणी) सरसति सामिणि, तास प्रसादि
वेदव्यास वालमीक रषि इम एहनु उपदेस.
तास प्रसादि असाईत भणिः वीरकथा वरणव्योस.
—Haṁsāuli of Asāita (1361 A. D.), v. 1

(vi) **कासमीरपोरवासनी,** विद्या तणी निधान !
सेवक कर जोडी कहइ, आपउ विद्यादान.
—Pañcadaṇḍ-nī Vārtā of Narapati (1504 A. D.), v. 8

(vii) सरसती सामिण पय नमी, मागु उचित पसाय ;
कासमीर मुखमंडणी, वाणी दिउ मझ माय.
—Vetālapacīsī of Devaśīla (1563 A. D.), v. 1

(viii) **कासमीरनिवासिनी** सरसती समरुं मात.
—Karpūramañjarī of Matisāra (1548 A. D.), line 6

These are a few specimens; many more quotations can be cited.

2 R. C. Parikh, op. cit., p. 253.

3 Ibid, p. 273. Also see my paper on *Gujarāt ane Kāshmīr* in Sanskṛti (Guj), February 1951.

4 De, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 171.

two other commentaries on the Kāvyaprakāśa written by scholars from Gujarāt, which are not hitherto well-known. One is by Jayānandasūri,[1] whose date is not known, and the other is by the great Jaina savant Yaśovijaya (17th contury A. D.)[2]

The Kāvyaprakās'a-saṁketa of Māṇikyacandra

251. The brief review of the history of the Alaṁkāra-literature given above would show that the Alaṁkāraśāstra was a branch of learning zealously cultivated in Gujarāt. After Hemacandra and his pupils, Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra (para 26), we can mention the names of three scholars of Vastupāla's literary circle as important writers on Sanskrit poetics. Out of the works of these three scholars, the Saṁketa of Māṇikyacandra on the Kāvyaprakāśa is the oldest, the other two, viz. the Alaṁkāramahodadhi of Narendraprabhasūri and the Kāvyakalpalatā of Amaracandrasūri, being later than the Saṁketa.

252. Māṇikyacandra's Saṁketa is not only one of the oldest, but also one of the most authoritative commentaries on the Kāvyaprakāśa. Its Granthāgra is 3244 ślokas, as mentioned at the end of an old palm-leaf manuscript preserved at the Jaina Bhāṇḍār at Pāṭaṇ.[3] This work is also important on account of its merit as an expository work. It is entirely free from the failings so often found in commentaries, viz. absence of explanatory comments on difficult topics and prolixity where it is not wanted. Though Māṇikyacandra was a Jaina Sādhu, his erudition in the Brāmanical literature and philosophy is evident from his exposition and criticism of the text as well as from the references and quotations given by him. Not only the author is a scholar and a master of poetics, but he is a keen appreciator and critic of poetry, and himself a poet of some merit. His original faculty cf poetic appreciation can be seen, as for example, in his commentary on two verses, viz. मुखं विकसितस्मितं० (II. 9) and प्रस्थानं वलयैः कृतं० (IV. 46), and also on the Kārikās 29 (शृङ्गारस्य द्वौ भेदौ।) and 30 (रतिर्हासश्च शोकश्च०). He has given a number of quotations from his own poems to make his statements clear.[4] Thus three great

1 JRK, p. 90.

2 Looking to the great reputation of Yaśovijaya as a versatile scholar his commentary on the Kāvyaprakāśa should be considered a remarkable work. Recently Muni Śrī Puṇyavijayaji has found out an incomplete manuscript of this commentary from Cambay. The work deserves to be critically edited and printed even in the incomplete form.

3 PBC, p. 54.

4 Māṇikyacandra has cited 17 verses in all, which are his own compositions; vide pp. 188, 190, 191, 192, 193, 195, 203, 204, 205, 216, 230, 237, 252, 270. Several of these verses (pp. 203, 204, 205, 216) appear to have been taken from the hymns in praise of Jina, which shows that Māṇikyacandra had composed several devotional lyrics in addition to his Saṁketa and the two Mahākāvyas (vide para 182).

literary merits—scholarship, critical faculty and keen poetic appreciation—are to be found together in this commentary.

253. The remarkable scholarship and wide reading of Māṇikyacandra have been attested by the large number of quotations and references given by him. It also shows the author to be quite at home with the bulk of Alaṁkara literature written before his time and also with Sanskrit literature in general. He has quoted from or referred to Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka and his Hṛdayadarpaṇa (pp. 4, 8), the Kāvyakautuka (p. 5),[1] Pāṇini (pp. 14, 29), Bhaṭṭa Kumārila (p. 16) and Jaimini (p. 111). Bhartṛmitra (p. 17), the Vakroktikāra (p. 25), the logician Dharmakīrti (p. 43), Māgha (p. 52), the Udbhaṭakumārasambhava (p. 252),[2] the Kādambarī (p. 177), the Kumārasambhava (p. 178) and the Śakuntalā (p. 195), the Dhvanikāra (p. 200), the Kaṇṭhābharaṇa (p. 216)[3] and the Vidhhaśālabhañjikā (p. 303). Māṇikyacandra has also traced some verses quoted by Mammaṭa to their originals. Thus he has traced a Prākrit gāthā to the Pañcabāṇalīlākathā of Ānandavardhana (p. 144), and another gāthā to the Viṣamabāṇalīlākathā (p. 173). Some other illustrations are traced to the Pratimānirudhha Nāṭaka,[4] the Veṇisaṁhāra and the Mālatīmādhava (p. 264), the Rāghavānanda (p. 91) and the Mahābhārata (p. 86). A verse (IV. 39) has been elaborately traced in the following manner–कश्मीरराजमातृमरणे भट्टनारायणकविकाव्यमिदम् (p. 57), though nothing is definitely known about this Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa and the occasion on which this verse was composed. Māṇikyacandra has quoted one verse with the remarks–पूज्यानामिदम् (p. 203), and it is quite probable that it may be from the pen of the author's Guru.

254. Moreover, Māṇikyacandra has cited following authors or authorities, and supported or criticized their views–Kaṇāda (p. 14), the Nyāyakumudacandra of Prabhācandra (p. 14), Mukula (pp. 18, 22, 24), Abhinavagupta (pp. 25, 48), Vāmana (pp. 25, 53, 152, 186, 188, 190), Bharata (pp. 189, 191, 192), Daṇḍin (pp. 189, 191, 192, 245), Bhoja (pp. 192, 195, 219, 304), Śaṁkuka (pp. 45, 50), Bhaṭṭa Tota (p. 43), Lollaṭa (p. 52), Bhāmaha (pp. 120, 189, 213, 287), Udbhaṭa (pp. 121, 174, 187, 212, 259, 272, 294), Rudraṭa (pp. 245, 249, 257, 266, 211, 274), Maṁgala (p. 190),[5] Alaṁkāra-

1 The author of this lost work was Bhaṭṭa Tauta. It has been mentioned in Abhinavagupta's commentary on Bharata (ch. I).

2 This is a lost poem. It has been also quoted by Pratihārendurāja in his commentary on Udbhaṭa (PT, Vol. I, p. 187).

3 The author has not quoted from this book, but has only mentioned it by name. Possibly it may be the Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa of Bhoja.

4 This lost work is also mentioned in Abhinavagupta's commentary on Bharata (ch. XIX). There it is ascribed to Bhīma.

5 Vāmana and Maṁgala are cited simultaneously ('गौडीयानां निर्देशो न युक्तिमान् इति वामनमंगलौ। p. 190). Hence Maṁgala was definitely a rhetorician. Opinions of Maṁgala have been also cited in the Kāvyamīmāṁsā (3rd edition, pp. 11, 14, 16, 20) by Rājaśekhara and in the Viveka on the Kāvyānuśāsana (IV. 1) by Hemacandra.

sarvasva (pp. 209, 240),[1] Kohala[2] and the Locana (p. 65). It is evident from the above list that some of the authors and works cited in the commentary are lost centuries ago, and hence references to them are very important from historical and literary point of view.

255. Moreover, Māṇikyacandra has discussed at several places the variant readings of Mammaṭa and has spoken about their relative merits (pp. 37, 250), which shows that within about a century after the composition of the Kāvyaprakāśa there had arisen some important variants in the readings of the text. While commenting upon a Prākrit gāthā (छणपाहुडिआ देअर०, IV. 112), Māṇikyacandra has given a short but interesting discussion regarding the interpretation of the Prākrit word पडोहर or पुडोहर, and has cited several opinions about its meaning, including that of Sātavāhana. Scholarship of Māṇikyacandra is also to be seen in his explanation of the following words of the text–अत्र शोणितशब्दस्य रुधिरलक्षणेनार्थेनोज्ज्वलीकृतरूपार्थः व्यवधीयते (IV. 146); he has said–यद्वा काश्मीरभाषया उज्ज्वलशब्दोऽरुणार्थः (p. 124). This is a further proof to show that Mammaṭa was an inhabitant of Kāshmīr. The tradition that Mammaṭa had written the Kāvyaprakāśa upto the Parikara Alaṁkāra and the rest of the work was completed by one Alaka or Alaṭa also finds support from Māṇikyacandra. Commenting upon the last verse of the Kāvyaprakāśa (इत्येष मार्गो विदुषां विभिन्नो०), Māṇikyacandra has said–अथ चायं ग्रन्थोऽन्येनाऽऽरब्धोऽपरेण समापित इति द्विखण्डोऽपि संघटनावशादखण्डायते। (p. 304). This shows that the tradition about the double authorship of the Kāvyaprakāśa is very old–known to one of the earliest commentators and therefore deserves serious consideration. Māṇikyacandra has, at some places, given old Gujarātī equivalents of Sanskrit words; e. g.–commenting upon a verse in the Kāvyaprakāśa (एतन्मन्दविपक्वतिन्दुकफलं०, VII, 143), he says–तिन्दुकफलं तच्चस्य टिम्बरूकमिति ख्यातिः, p. 123). The word in question is still used in Gujarātī as टिंबरू.

The Alaṁkāramahodadhi of Narendraprabhasūri

256. Now, we come to the Alaṁkāramahodadhi of Narendraprabhasūri. The Granthāgra of the work is 4500 ślokas. Following the masterpiece of Mammaṭa, the work has been written in the Kārikās and Vṛtti. But while the Kāvyaprakāśa has been divided into ten chapters, the Alaṁkāramahodadhi comprises eight chapters, like the Kāvyānuśāsana of Hemacandra who was the author's great predecessor in Gujarāt. The Kārikās are in the Anuṣṭup metre, but the concluding stanza of every chapter is generally in a different metre. The number of the Kārikās is 296 in all. The work being styled as the Alaṁkāramahodadhi ('great ocean of the Alaṁkāras'), its chapters are called the Taraṁgas ('waves'). Presumably, the author was tempted to

---

1 Reference to the Alaṁkārasarvasva shows definitely that Ruyyaka was chronologically older than Māṇikyacandra.

2 Kohala is cited along with the Locana (विस्तरविचारस्तु कोहललोचनग्रन्थादिषु ज्ञेयः, p. 65). He was a follower of Bharata, and has been cited by Abhinavagupta. A study of citations indicates that though Kohala followed Bharata in the main, he improved upon the Nāṭyaśāstra in details of classification (Krishnamachariar, op. cit., p. 822).

employ this terminology by the example of his Guru Naracandrasūri, who had styled the chapters of his Kathāratnākara as the Taramgas (vide para 240).

257. The author lays no claim to originality. He says that there is nothing which has not been expounded by the ancient rhetoricians, and hence this work is merely the selection from their sayings (p. 3). In the Praśasti (v. 10) he says that he wrote the work after hearing the lectures of his Guru seeking to entertain the learned and also for the benefit of his own scholarship. But putting the things plainly, the Alamkāramahodadhi has simplified and extended the subject-matter of the Kāvyaprakāśa without interfering with its scientific arrangement, and that can be considered the chief merit of the work. The author has added some subsidiary matter which is not to be found in the Kāvyaprakāśa, and that has extended the bulk of his work. He has also taken a large number of new illustrations either from previous Alamkāra-works or from general Sanskrit literature, and has thus made his work more readable. The number of the illustrations cited by Mammaṭa is 602, while the number of those in the Alamkāramahodadhi is 982. Narendraprabha has done justice to the contents of the ten chapters of the Kāvyaprakāśa in the eight chapters of his work. The second and third chapters of the Kāvyaprakāśa have been represented by the second chapter of the Alamkāramahodadhi, while the subject-matter of the sixth chapter has been almost omitted in the latter work; and thus an economy of two chapters has been achieved. The author of the Alamkāramahodadhi has been influenced by Mammaṭa to such a great extent that at a number of places his Kārikās as well as Vṛtti are full of verbal borrowings from the Kāshmīrian master (e. g.-pp. 6, 7, 14–15, 43, 48, 55–56, 57, 58, 123, 180–82, 183, 184–86, 197, 199, etc. of the Alamkāramahodadhi), but at the same time the Alamkāramahodadhi betrays some influence of Hemacandra's Kāvyānuśasana. In I. 10, while explaining the word Śikṣā with reference to a poet, the author has quoted almost verbatim the whole portion dealing with Śikṣā, that is Kāviśikṣā, from the Alamkāracūḍāmaṇi on the Kāvyānuśāsana, Moreover, his definition of poetry is more akin to one in the Kāvyānuśāsana than to that in the Kāvyaprakāśa, and he appears to have taken several illustrations from the two commentaries on the Kāvyānuśāsana, viz. the Alamkāracūḍāmaṇi and the Viveka (e. g.–no. 5 from the AC II. 170; no. 256 from the AC I. 71 and VK no. 425–281). Narendraprabha must have also seen Māṇikyacandra's Samketa on the Kāvyaprakāśa with which we have just dealt, because while commenting upon the Kārikā giving the purpose of poetry (p. 6) he has quoted from the Hṛdayadarpaṇa of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, just like Māṇikyacandra (I. 2). Māṇikyacandra in I. 3 has quoted from the Kāvyakautuka (प्रज्ञा नवनवोन्मेष०); the same quotation has been given by Narendraprabha in the Vṛtti on I. 7 while dealing with the subject of Pratibhā. But inspite of all these influences the fact remains that the Alamkāramahodadhi follows the Kāvyaprakāśa with meticulous care, though generally supplimenting, extending and simplifying its subject-matter.

258. In the beginning of the Vṛtti, after praising the highest light, the author gives a genealogy of his teachers and also a genealogy of Vastupāla, his patron (vv. 1–11), and he describes how the work was composed at the request made by Vastupāla to Naracandra, author's Guru (vv. 15–21). The first chapter is styled प्रयोजन-कारण-स्वरूपभेदनिर्णय.[1] Here the author has given the purpose and definition of poetry in general, and has also defined its three varieties, viz. Dhvani, Guṇībhūtavyaṁgya and Avara. शब्दवैचित्र्यवर्णन[2] is the title of the second chapter, and it is devoted to different powers of words–viz. Abhidhā or primary sense, Lakṣaṇā or secondary sense and Vyañjanā or suggested sense. In II. 16–20 the author has defined Bandha or compactness of compositions as अर्द्धनारीश्वरस्पर्द्धि यत्र संघट्टनक्रमः, and has considered the charm arising out of Bandha a very important thing in poetry. The third chapter is ध्वनिनिर्णय.[3] After discussing Abhidhā and Lakṣaṇā, the author now turns to Vyañjanā or Dhvani. He follows the Kāvyaprakāśa in his treatment of the production of Dhvani, but has given a number of new illustrations to show how different circumstances contribute to the process. (pp. 49–53). The portion about the theory of Rasa has been taken down faithfully from the fourth Ullāsa of the Kāvyaprakāśa, though coming to the nine sentiments (III. 13–25), our author's treatment becomes comparatively fuller in the matter of illustrations and other secondary details. The author has given 39 varieties of the suggested sense (III. 63), and then he has multiplied the number to 6123 by Saṁkara and saṁsṛṣṭi or permutations and combinations of those varieties (III. 64), while the Kāvyaprakāśa (IV. 44) has given the number as 10455. In the end (III. 64–65), the author says that the Dhvani is the soul of poetry, and it being अलंकार्य does not deserve to become an अलंकार, and hence the Rasavat cannot be a figure of speech–as mentioned by some rhetoricians. The whole of the third chapter of the Alaṁkāramahodadhi is, so to say, a longer and simplified version of the fourth Ullāsa of the Kāvyaprakāśa.

259. The fourth chapter called गुणीभूतव्यंग्यप्रदर्शन[4] deals with this secondary variety of Dhvani, while the fifth called दोषव्यावर्णन[5] deals with the faults of poetry at considerable length. In this chapter the phrasing of a number of Kārikas and the Vṛtti thereon can be seen to be greatly influenced by Mammaṭa, sometimes to the extent of being almost verbatim extracts from him. The sixth chapter is styled as गुणनिर्णय[6] and is devoted to the treatment of three poetic merits, viz. Mādhurya or sweetness, Ojas or strength and Prasāda or perspicuity. The author generally follows Mammaṭa, but his treatment is more detailed and lucid. The seventh chapter, शब्दालंकारवर्णन,[7] deals with the figures of word. While following Mammaṭa in general treatment, our author has given more subdivisions, and a number of new illustrations.

1 cf. KP, ch. I. प्रयोजन–कारण–स्वरूपविशेषनिर्णय.
2 cf. Ibid, ch. II. शब्दनिर्णय.
3 cf. Ibid, ch. III–IV. अर्थव्यञ्जकतानिर्णय and ध्वनिनिर्णय.
4 cf. Ibid, ch. V. ध्वनि-गुणीभूतव्यंग्य–संकीर्ण–भेदनिर्णय.
5 cf. Ibid, ch. VII. दोषदर्शन.
6 cf. Ibid, ch. VIII. गुणालंकारभेदनियतगुणनिर्णय.
7 cf. Ibid, ch. IX. शब्दालंकारनिर्णय.

The eighth chapter is अर्थालंकारवर्णन,[1] and is devoted to the figures of sense. The author has discussed here 70 Alaṁkāras in all, while the Kāvyaprakāśa, his model, has given 61, and Hemacandra discusses in 31 Sūtras 29 figures of sense. Our author, though generally following Mammaṭa, has arranged his figures in a different manner, beginning with Atiśayokti rather than Upamā. He has discussed and illustrated the following nine Arthālaṁkāras which are not to be found in Mammaṭa—Ullekha, Pariṇāma, Vikalpa, Arthāpatti, Vicitra, Rasavat, Preyaḥ, Urjasvī and Samāhita (different from Samādhi). Though the figures Rasavat etc. are not theoretically acceptable to the author, he has included them in his comprehensive treatment, because some other rhetoricians have accepted them.[2] By defining and subdividing the figures in a simple and methodical manner and by profusely illustrating them the author has made his work scientific as well as interesting, and it can be said without exaggeration that the Alaṁkāramahodadhi is one of the most notable Alaṁkāra-works written by the Jaina authors after Hemacandra and the two Vāgbhaṭas.

260. Narendraprabhasūri appears to be a man of wide reading and notable scholarship, from the treatment he has given to his subject, from the accessory matter that he has added to the theoretical nucleus found in Mammaṭa, and also from the authorities and illustrations that he has cited. As authorities he has cited the following—the Hṛdayadarpaṇa (p. 6) and its author Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka (p. 57), the Vākyapadīya (p. 15) and the Mahābhāṣya (pp. 15–16), Mukula (p. 36), Kayyaṭa (p. 44), Bharata and his commentator (p. 55), Lollaṭa (p. 56), Śaṁkuka (p. 56), Abhinavagupta (p. 58), the grammar of Hemacandra, though it has not been expressly mentioned by name (pp. 166, 238, 315, 332), the Dhvanikāra (pp. 182, 183), Vāmana (p. 190), and Kuntaka (p. 201) whose name is printed in the text as Kuttu(tta)ka. References to the following authors and works have been given–Kālidāsa (p. 6), Bharata, Cāṇakya, Vātsyāyana, the Śakuntalā and Kādambarī (p. 8), Ānandavardhana (p. 11), Kaṇāda (p. 15), the Kumārasambhava (p. 180), the Veṇisaṁhāra (p. 180), the Vīracarita (p. 181), the Hayagrīvavadha (p. 181), the Śiśupālavadha (p. 181), the Ratnāvali (p. 181), the Arjunacarita (p. 183), the Nāgānanda (p. 183) and the Harṣacarita (pp. 250, 304).

Development of Kaviśikṣā-literature

261. The Kāvyakalpalatā of Amaracandrasūri and two Svopajña ('composed by the author himself') commentaries on it–viz. the Kaviśikṣā and the Parimala–form a notable work on Kaviśikṣā or discipline of the poets, and were intended to supply a text-book for aspiring poets. As the commentary Kaviśikṣā comments upon the text in a

---

1 cf. Ibid, ch. X. अर्थालंकारनिर्णय.

2 रसादयः पूर्वप्रतिपादितरूपाः सर्वेऽप्येते यत्र क्वचिदात्मानं गुणीकृत्यापरस्य रसादेरेवाङ्गतामवयवतां धारयन्ति तस्मिन् विषये इमे रसवत्-प्रेय-ऊर्जस्वि-समाहितादिनामानोऽलङ्काराः कैश्चिदलङ्कारकारैरुरीकृता अङ्गीकृताः । p. 328.
It may be mentioned here that Mammaṭa has referred to figures Rasavat etc. while discussing the Guṇībhūta Vyaṁgya (cf. Vṛtti on KP, V. 2).

more systematic consistent and faithful manner, is more well-known and has been published with the Kāvyakalpalatā more than once, we shall take it first and shall treat of the Parimala later on. But before that we should take a bird's eye view of the historical development of the literature on Kaviśikṣā. "These treatises do not deal with the conventional topics of poetics with its theories, dogmas and definitions, but they are meant chiefly as manuals to guide the poet in his profession, their primary object being Kaviśikṣā or instruction of the aspiring poet in the devices of the craft.................. The ancient as well as modern writers on general poetics, no doubt, touch occasionally upon the question of the practical training of the poet; and it is not improbable that this, in course of time, formed the object of a separate study and multiplied these convenient hand-books, of which necessarily we possess comparatively late specimens."[1] According to Dr. Jacobi, originally *ars poetica* in India did not go further than offering suggestions and advice on matters of poetic craftsmanship and formulating prescriptions for the practical guidance of the poent. This theme in later literature became a separate study when the theoretical aspects of the problems involved began to occupy an important place in the discipline.[2] The cultural equipment of the poet and his practical training were considered very important in ancient India, and the poet had to labour long in various fields of learning before he could please the Sahṛdaya or the man of taste. Bhāmaha appears to be cognisant of the importance of the poet's training, but his remarks on these points are brief in comparison to Vāmana's, who deals with the subject elaborately for the first time. While not denying the supreme necessity of genius or poetic gift (Satkavitva, Bhāmaha I. 4) which consists in Pratibhā (poetic genius), all writers, early or late, agree in emphasising the necessity of study and experience. The poet is thus required to be an expert in a long list of sciences or arts. The earliest is given by Bhāmaha (I. 9), where grammar, prosody, lexicography, stories based on Itihāsa, ways of the world, logic and the fine arts are mentioned as sources of poetic material. This agrees substantially with the list given by Rudraṭa (I. 18). Vāmana (I. iii. 1-20) deals with the topic in greater detail, and requires the poet to be conversant with grammar, lexicon, metrics, arts, morals, erotics, politics and, above all, the ways and means of the world.[3] The Kāvyamīmāṁsā of Rājaśekhara (circa 900 A. D.), a work of comparatively early date, mixes up the topics of Kaviśikṣā with those of poetics proper, at the same time giving us a somewhat rambling treatment of various extraneous matters, and includes the subjects like general geography, conventions observed by the poets, a disquisition on the seasons and an account of Kavi-goṣṭhi etc., as of importance for the aspiring poet.

262. From this standpoint the two works of the Kāshmīrian polymath

1 De, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 356-57.

2 Ibid, p. 43.

3 Ibid, p. 54.

Kṣemendra (11th century A. D.)–viz. his Aucityavicāracarcā and Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa–are notable, as they appear to have been written for the guidance of the budding poets. But at the same time they are not full-fledged text-books on Kaviśikṣā, but are important in as much as they treat of some practical issues. Three notable Jaina rhetoricians, viz. Hemacandra and two Vāgbhaṭas wrote their works with a view to supplying suitable text-books, and consequently while discussing general principles, they incorporated hints on matters helpful in the practical task of poetic composition. It would be interesting to note that both Hemacandra and the younger Vāgbhaṭa have borrowed considerably from Kṣemendra and Rājaśekhara.[1] The oldest extant full-fledged Kaviśikṣā-work we get also from a Jaina writer from Gujarāt. It is styled as Kaviśikṣā and its author is one Jayamaṁgala Ācārya. A very old palm-leaf manuscript of the work has been preserved at the Jaina Bhāṇḍār at Cambay.[2] As the work includes a stanza in praise of king Sidhharāja Jayasiṁha of Aṇahilavāḍ Pāṭaṇ, the author appears to have been a contemporary of that king and must have flourished about the first half of the twelfth century A. D. The Kāvyakalpalatā of Amaracandra comes about a century after that. The Kaviśikṣā of Vinayacandra is a voluminous work on the same subject, especially interesting because it gives much important information about history, geography and about literary conditions in mediaeval India. A palm-leaf manuscript of Vinayacandra's work is available in the Jaina Bhāṇḍār at Pāṭaṇ.[3] The author has been conjecturably put in the first half of the 13th century A. D.;[4] but anyhow he is not earlier than the beginning of the 12th century A. D., because he refers to the poet Bihlaṇa.[5]

The Kāvyakalpalatā and its commentary Kavis'ikṣā by Amaracandra

263. Thus the Kāvyakalpalatā of Amaracandra is one of the oldest extant works on the subject of Kaviśikṣā, and looking to its fame and popularity, it can be easily considered the most authoritative and instructive book on the practical aspect of the poet's work. The Kāvyakalpalatā is in the form of Kārikās, the number of Kārikās as printed in the edition of the Kāshī Sanskrit Series being 798. The Kaviśikṣā Vṛtti is a running commentary on these Kārikās, strictly following the text, unlike the Parimala which is rather a free, rambling exposition of the Kārikās. The Granthāgra of the Kaviśikṣā Vṛtti is 3357 ślokas.[6] A brief summary of the main topics dealt with in the Kāvyakalpalatā and this Vṛtti will give an idea of the general scope and nature of Kaviśikṣā works.

264. The Kāvyakalpalatā has been divided into four Pratānas or chapters–viz. (I) Chandaḥsidhhi, (II) Śabdasidhhi, (III) Śleṣasidhhi, and (IV)

1 Ibid, p. 366.
2 Peterson, Report I, pp. 78–80.
3 PBC, pp. 46–50.
4 AM, intro., p. 18.
5 PBC, p. 49.
6 JRK, p. 89.

Arthasidhhi.[1] The chapters are further subdivided into Stabakas or sections. (i) The first section of the Chandaḥsidhhi is Anuṣṭup-śasana. Anuṣṭup being the most popular metre in Sanskrit poetry, the author has first given practical suggestions for composition in that metre. He has suggested suitable words which would fit in the Anuṣṭup, and has also given the method of scanning the syllables and the mātrās. (ii) The second section is called Chandobhyāsa. It enumerates the principal metres having 9 to 21 syllables in a foot, and also the characteristics of the Āryā. For practical proficiency in metrical compositions the author has advised the practice in narrating stories and describing cities, daily works and worldly behaviour etc., which would give depth and range to the studies of the poet. He has also advised the rendering of one's own or another poet's ideas into the same or different metres, and conversion of one metre into another. The author has given illustrations of all these, and thus has helped the student with practical suggestions. After the student has learnt to compose in a number of metres, he is advised to know the Marma or secrets of the metres (Kārikā 31), and by comparison and contrast to make himself proficient in other metres also. Thus, for example, by adding a long and a short syllable at the end of Bhadrikā metre we get Rathodhhatā, and by adding a long syllable we get Lalitā, by adding a short syllable after the seventh syllable of the Vaṁśastha we get Mañjubhāṣinī, and so on (p. 11). Thus after learning a few metres the budding poet can be at home with all the principal ones. At the end of the section the author has given a dissertation on the place of caesura (Yati) in the metre. (iii) The third section is devoted to words (Sāmanya-śabdāḥ) for filling up the verse (Chandaḥ-pūraṇa), which would be especially useful for the purposes of extempore poetry. The author has given a list of words containing one to four syllables which can be put in the beginning and the end of Anuṣṭup and other metres. He has illustrated both the feet of the Anuṣṭup in this way, and then has given similar treatment to other principal metres. (iv) The fourth section is entitled Vādaśikṣā.[2] The author defines Vāda as

1 Titles of the chapters ending in the word Sidhhi denoting accomplishment deserves notice, because all the chapters of the Sidhhiviniścaya by the great scholar Akalaṁka (circa 643 A. D.) have the word Sidhhi at the end of their titles, and there are some works of the Vedānta philosophy like Brahmasidhhi, Iṣṭasidhhi, Advaitasidhhi, etc. A work on Jyotiṣ by Udayaprabhasūri is called the Ārambhasidhhi (vide para 116 and 301). Thus the nomenclature of the chapters of the Kāvyakalpalatā is significant, as it is the result of a scholarly and philosophic tradition which put emphasis on high accomplishment in learning as well as in spiritual attainment.

2 In ancient India Vāda or learned dispute was a subject of common importance to all the Śāstras and hence there are independent treatises on Vāda. The Budhhist scholar Vasubandhu has written a work called Vādavidhi which is extant only in its Tibetan translation (Winternitz, vol. II, p. 632; Sanmatitarka, intro., p. 79), and Sidhhasena Divākara has composed a Vādopaniṣaddvātriṁśikā which is seventh in his extant Ekaviṁśati Dvātriṁśikāḥ.

follows–

वादोऽनुप्रासयुक्तोक्तिः स्वोत्कर्षः परगर्हणा । कुलशास्त्रादिसंप्रश्नः स्वशास्त्रख्यापनं तथा ॥
(K. 44)

That is, by Vāda is meant pointed sayings full of Anuprāsa, praise of oneself and vituperation of opponents, and interrogation (of the opponent) with regard to his family and learning, and declaring one's own learning. All these points are duly illustrated in the commentary (p. 21–24), and a list of words which can be useful in forming Anuprāsa is given (p. 20–21). From the illustrations we get an idea as to how the learned men and the poets rivalled with one another in the assembly of the kings and the ministers in ancient and mediaeval India. The title of this section, Vādaśikṣā, suggests that it essentially deals with Vāda or learned disputes of which we get numerous accounts in old literature. (v) The fifth section is styled Varṇya-sthiti, and enumerates subjects fit for description by the poets—like king, minister, priests, queens, prince, commander, country, village, city, lake, ocean, rivers, gardens, forest, hermitage, political counsels, messenger, battle, march, hunting, horses, elephants, rising of sun and moon, marriage, separation, collection of flowers, water–sports, love-sport, etc. (Kārikā 45). Not satisfied by mere enumeration the author has given hints as to how to describe these topics, because his book is much more concerned with practice than with theory. Regarding the minister the author has said–

आन्वीक्षिकीत्रयीवार्तादण्डनीतिकृतश्रमः । क्रमागतो वणिक्पुत्रो भवेद्राज्यविवृद्धये ॥
(K. 55)

It is interesting that the minister has been described as coming from the merchant-class, because in mediaeval Gujarāt the business community used to work in political service and the author's patron, Vastupāla, was himself a member of that community.

Then the author has given a list of poetic conventions (Kavisamayas) as observed in Sanskrit literature for the guidance of his students.

265. The second chapter, Śabdasidhhi, is divided into four sections. (i) The first chapter explains Rūḍha, Yaugika and Miśra words, and cites copious illustrations to show that only those words which are well-known in literature can be used in poetry. (ii) The second section gives a list of Yaugika synonyms of things and personalities, real or fictitious, generally occurring in poetry, and advises the reader to choose from these words according as he desires to achieve verbal conciseness or elaboration (K. 70). (iii) The third chapter gives a long list of words which would be useful in achieving Anuprāsa. Then the author has given a second list of words having the syllables Ka to Ma at the end, for help in writing poetry full of Anuprāsa and Yamaka. (iv) The fourth chapter explains Abhidhā, Lakṣaṇā and Vyañjanā at length. Then the author has given a list of Lākṣaṇika words useful in poetry (K. 183–206), suggesting how those words can be employed as Upamāna and Upameya. This section shows clear influence of the

Dhvani-school which had established itself long before the times of Amaracandra.

266. The third chapter Śleṣasidhhi deals with employment of double-meaning, because it played an important part in Sanskrit poetry. It has been divided into four sections. (i) The first section deals with composing of words in such a way that they can be read differently according as they are divided and gives a list of words useful in achieving Śleṣa. (ii) The second section deals with a kind of Śleṣa occurring in the description of an object by analogies, in which the same quality or condition is to be traced in the same words or in synonyms. (iii) The third section is devoted to the cases of double meaning, produced by homonyms capable ef widely different interpretations, and (iv) the fourth deals with the Citrakāvyas. The author has given lists of words useful in composing the Citrakāvyas–e. g., words having one and two syllables (pp. 86–87 and 94–96), and roots with one syllable (pp. 92–94), and also a list of words which can be read identically both ways (p. 100). Different varieties of the Citrakāvya have been illustrated in this section–viz. स्वरच्चित्र, व्यञ्जनच्चित्र, गतिच्चित्र, आकारच्च्युत, मात्राच्च्युत, वर्णच्च्युत, and different kinds of गूढ.

267. The fourth chapter Arthasidhhi has been divided into seven sections. (i) The first section is devoted to the study of Alaṁkāras. First the author treats of the Upamā. He gives a list of words expressive of Upamā and also a concordance of particular Upameyas befitting particular Upamānas (pp. 105–107), and has set forth a number of practical suggestions for achieving proficiency in verses with good Upamās (pp. 107–8), because according to him–उपमायां हि सिद्धायां बहलंकारसिद्धय: (K. 36); he has shown how by making slight changes in the Upamā, a number of other principal Alaṁkāras like Rūpaka, Ananvaya, Smaraṇa, Sandeha, Apahnuti, Vyatireka, Utprekṣā, etc. are produced (p. 109). The Rūpaka has been given a more detailed treatment. Hints as to how the Rūpaka should be composed and how one and the same idea can be expressed in different ways are given (pp. 111–16). (ii–iv) The second, third and fourth sections lay down how the objects with different colours, actions and forms should be described. (v) The fifth section explains at length how the poet should invent poetic conceits regarding support, surroundings and attributes of different objects, and thus describe them in a charming manner. Analogy is the principal method of good expression in poetry (K. 163) and hence the author gives a long list of analogous things–e. g. sharp, great, auspicious, inauspicious, pure, impure, rapid, slow, strong, weak, cruel, merciful, or things like great sounds, beautiful men, great archers, learned kings, and so on (K. 164–248). (vi) The sixth section is especially important to the student of Sanskrit poetry, because it gives a list of words expressive of numbers. We get here words expressive of the figures from one to twenty, and also of a hundred and a thousand (pp. 143–48). It is a well-known convention among mediaeval Sanskrit authors to mention the year of composition of their works in a roundabout way by the help of such Saṁkhyā-śabdas, without giving the figures directly (cf. para 129). (vii)

The seventh section offers suggestions as to how to fill up different kinds of Samasyās. The filling up of Samasyās was a very important thing for a Sanskrit poet, especially when in public assembly or in poetic disputes, and our author has not failed to incorporate in his text-book the practical suggestions on that point.

Parimala-anothor Svopajña commentary on the Kāvyakalpalatā

268. Another Svopajña commentary on the Kāvyakalpalatā, viz. the Parimala, cannot be described as a commentary in the technical sense; it is a free, rambling exposition of several points of the original text. The work is not printed. Unfortunately, both the manuscripts of the Parimala that I could procure from the Jaina Bhāṇḍār at Pāṭaṇ end at the beginning of the second chapter (Śabdasidhhi) at almost identical places, and hence I have not been able to study the whole of this interesting work. A third manuscript of the Parimala has been noticed by Prof. H. R. Kapadia in his introduction (p. 42) to the Padmānanda Mahākāvya, but that also being incomplete is not useful for our purpose. The Granthāgra of the Parimala has been given by the Jaina Granthāvali as 1122 ślokas,[1] but it seems to be wrong. The approximate Granthāgra of the Pāṭaṇ manuscripts, both of which are incomplete from the beginning of the second chapter, has been calculated by Mr. Murārilāl Nāgar as 4500 ślokas, and we may assume that the entire work being a commentary on four chapters would not be less than ten or eleven thousand ślokas. While commenting upon the second section of the first chapter the author has dealt with prosody at considerable length, and has treated of the Apabhraṁśa metres, like Hemacandra in his Chandonuśāsana. Here the author has laid down the characteristics of six types of Prākrits, generally following Hemacandra. In the fifth section, Amaracandra has enumerated different Vidyās, arts and different kinds of weapons, forms of gods and goddesses, tenents of different schools of philosophy, and subjects of general knowledge useful for the poet in his craft. The erotic sentiment is the favourite subject of Sanskrit poets, and hence the author has dwelt upon erotics, covering all its topics from the classification of different types of men and women as laid down in the Kāmaśāstra, to love-sports. Then the characteristics of the Nāyaka or hero and Prātināyaka or hero's rival as well as those of the Nāyikās or heroines are given. Describing the nature of all creatures (Sarvajīva), the commentary dwells upon the characteristics of the creatures without feet (serpents etc.), bipeds (men, gods and birds), quadrupeds, and creatures with six feet (bees etc.) which might prove of use in composing poetry. Moreover, the author has given Purāṇic geography and something of the geography of India known in his times. While speaking of division of time, starting from the smallest division, he comes to the year, and then says–

दैवज्ञानां च चैत्रादिर्लौकानां श्रावणादिकः।

(folio 69)[2]

1 JG, p. 216; following it JRK, p. 89.

2 The numbers of folios of the Parimala mentioned here are of ms. no. 9511 of Śrī Hemacandrācārya Jaina Jñāṇa Mandira of Pāṭaṇ.

which shows that in the times of Amaracandra in certain parts of Gujarāt at least, the beginning of the year was considered from the month of Śrāvaṇa. It is interesting to note here that two works of the Jaina canon, viz. the Bhagavatī Sūtra (XVIII. 10) and the Jñātādharma Kathā (p. 107) refer to the श्रावणादि year, and the Arthas'āstra of Kauṭilya (Adhikaraṇa II, Adhyāya 7) also mentions it. After this, the author speaks about the glories of the seasons-especially the spring, of the trees blossoming in it, and of their Dohadas or longings. Thus after mentioning a great many of details useful to the poet, Amaracandra completes his Parimala on the last section of the first chapter. Then begins the commentary on the second chapter, but both the manuscripts procured by me end even before the second section of the second chapter is completed. The Kaviśikṣā Vṛtti leaves the list of Yaugic words (second section of the second chapter) uncommented, which the Parimala expounds at length, while the Parimala leaves the first section uncommented which has been commented upon by the Kaviśikṣā Vṛtti.

269. The Kāvyakalpalatā and both the commentaries on it consider the practical, rather mechanical, and not the scholarly or theoretical side of poetry, and hence do not contain many quotations or references to authorities. In the Kaviśikṣā Vṛtti, Amaracandra mentions his own works–the Chandoratnāvali, the Mañjarī, the Parimala and Alaṁkāraprabodha,[1] and at one place he has cited the authority of the grammarian Śākaṭāyana (p. 28). In the Parimala, we find the authority of Bharata quoted (folio 64), and also of the Chandonuśāsana (folios 2, 9) and the Grammar (folio 11) of Hemacandra. There is a reference to the Mālatīmādhava (folio 61), a quotation from the Raghuvaṁśa (folio 1), from the poet Dhanapāla (folio 9),[2] who was a contemporary of king Bhoja of Dhārā and lived in the 10th century A. D., and also from Māṇikyasūri (folio 1)[3], presumably the author of the Saṁketa on the Kāvyaprakāśa.

270. The above analysis of the contents of the Kāvyakalpalatā would show how it gives practical instructions for the craft of the poet. It seems from the manner in which Amaracandra has handled his subject-matter, that he himself must have passed at some time through the discipline laid down in the book. The account given by the Prabandhakośa of the testing of the poetic faculties of Amaracandra by the court-poets of king Vīsaladeva (vide para 103) is very interesting when considered from this point of view. In ancient India, poetry was not merely a matter of subjective expression for the poet. The poet had to try to please a particular audience. When a new work was published, it was to be submitted to and approved by assemblies of experts, as we are told by Rājaśekhara and others; and the poet was

1 **cf. Para 164 and 106.**

2 यथा धनपालस्य–नतसुरकिरीटसंघृष्टचरण, जय भगवति भीतजनैकशरण०

3 यदुक्तं श्रीमाणिक्यसूरिभिः—

स्तुत्यं तन्नास्ति नूनं न जगति जनता यत्र बाधा विदध्या-
दन्योन्यस्पर्धिनोऽपि त्वयि तु शुभविधौ वादिनो निर्विवादाः।
यत्तच्चित्रं न किञ्चित् स्फुरति मतिमतां मानसे विश्वमात-
र्भांक्षि त्वं येन धत्से सकलनयमयं रूपमर्हत्सुखस्था ॥

expected to fulfil all the demands of the theory. Works like the Kāvyakalpalatā of Amaracandra teach the aspiring poet how to fulfil those demands. From such works we get a glimpse of the methods by which the students were taught to compose poetry, provided they had some natural talent. The work teaches the intricacies of metres, shows how to weave out poetic figures, shows the tricks of producing double meaning and manipulating complicated schemes of alliteration and rhyming, gives the secrets of quick compositions and making complete strophes out of broken lines and sentences. Though on the whole the thing is mechanical, it gives very important hints to the young poets and shows to what an extent the author was a past master in his craft and an erudite scholar of rhetoric.

271. A number of later writers have been deeply influenced by the Kāvyakalpalatā. The Kāvyakalpalatā of Deveśvara (circa 14th century A. D.) closely follows in its treatment of the subject and general arrangement the work of Amaracandra, and at several places Deveśvara has copied down wholesale from his predecessor. He borrows literally most of the rules and definitions, and repeats the illustrative stanzas.[1] This copying is not sporadic but systematic and is found throughout the work, from which we may infer that Deveśvara must have before him the text of Amaracandra's work. A considerable portion of the treatment given to his subject by Amaracandra has been reproduced by Keśavamiśra (16th century A. D.) in his Alaṁkāraśekhara,[2] though the latter text deals, besides Kaviśikṣā, with the ordinary topics of poetics. And to this day, the Kāvyakalpalatā of Amaracandra has enjoyed the fame of being a unique text-book on the subject of Kaviśikṣā among the scholars of Sanskrit throughout India.

1 De, op. cit, vol. I, p. 212.
2 Ibid, pp. 261 ff.

CHAPTER XV

WORKS ON GRAMMAR

Systems of Sanskrit Grammar

272. As is well-known, Vyākaraṇa is one of the six Vedāṁgas or accessory sciences to the study of the Veda, which were principally concerned with the preservation and interpretation of the sacred texts. The Padapāṭha of the Ṛgveda prepared by Śākalya, the Prātiśākhyas and the Śikṣās are works which show what a great care was taken to preserve and pronounce the texts in their correct form, and from the Nirukta of Yāska (circa 700 B. C.) we know how etymological and philological discussions were carried on with the Vedic texts as their data, and how the different schools of interpretation had established themselves by the times of Yāska. But while discussing the grammatical problems connected with ancient texts, the grammarians had to take some cognisance of the current speech of the people also, and it was probably from this tendency that the secular grammars arose. The first available grammar which deals with the current usage of Sanskrit as contrasted with the archaic language of the scriptures is the monumental Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini (circa 500 B. C.), who cites by name many predecessors including Śākaṭāyana (III. iv. iii), Āpiśali (VI. i. 91), Sphoṭāyana (VI. i. 123), Śākalya (I. i. 16), Cākravarman (VI. i. 128), Senaka (V. iv. 112), Gārgya (VIII. iii. 20), and Gālava (VI. iii. 61), testifying to the fact that Pāṇini had several important works on grammar before him. From Pāṇini's references to 'the easterners' some scholars have inferred the existence of the Aindra school of grammarians which was supplanted by his grammar.[1] In addition to the great Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali (circa 120 B. C.), there are several accessory treatises on the Sūtras of Pāṇini, out of which may be mentioned the Vārttika of Kātyāyana (circa 350 B. C.), the Kāśikā Vṛtti of Jayāditya and Vāmana (7th century A. D.), the Dhātupāṭha, the Uṇādisūtra traditionally ascribed to Śākaṭāyana or Vararuci, and the Phiṭsūtra of Śāntanava; these were followed by a number of important works, which we are not mentioning here.

273. After the times of Pāṇini, grammar occupied a very important place in the literary and scientific studies in India, and every student had to get at least a working knowledge of the Śabdaśāstra; and in course of time different schools of grammar arose in different parts of India. The oldest among these schools was probably the Kātantra, also known as the Kaumāra or Kālāpa. This school had much influence in Kāshmīr and Bengal, and was generally followed by all sections of the people in Gujarāt before Hemacandra wrote his grammar.[2] The Cāndra Vyākaraṇa of Candragomin (circa 470 A. D.) was popular in the Budhhist countries, Kāshmīr, Tibet,

---

1 **Belvalkar, Systems of Sanskrit Grammar, pp. 10 ff.**

2 **PT, Vol. II, p. 419.**

Nepal, and reached Ceylon.[1] The Sārasvata school of grammarians cannot be put down to a date very much earlier than 1250 A. D.[2] The influence of this school was mostly limited to Gujarāt, Rājasthān, the region around Delhi and Bengal, and it continued in vigour down to the modern revival of Pāṇini under the auspices of Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita (circa 1630 A. D.) and his pupils, when all the other schools of grammar began to decline.[3] Among other noteworthy schools are the Jaumāra school of Kramadīśvara (after 1150 A. D.)[4] which takes its name from Jaumāranandi, the most celebrated writer of the school, and the school of Bopadeva (13th century A. D.), the author of the Mugdhabodha.

274. The Jainas have also got their own systems of grammar, and the schools af Jainendra, Śākaṭāyana and Hemacandra have their own tradition and following. The authorship of the Jainendra grammar has been traditionally ascribed to the last Jina Mahāvīra, but it is the work of Pūjyapāda Devanandi, and on consideration of historical evidence scholars have put it in the later part of the fifth century A. D.[5] It is a condensation of Pāṇini and the Vārttikas. Jaina Śākaṭāyana who belonged to the Yāpanīya saṁgha is different from the ancient grammarian bearing that name, and wrote his Śabdānuśāsana in the 9th century A. D.[6] Though it was primarily meant for the Jainas, it was also studied among other communities, if we are to judge from references in later grammatical literature.[7] We have already seen in the first chapter how Hemacandra's grammar, which contains the detailed treatment of both Sanskrit and Prākrit languages, including Apabhraṁśa, was written at the request of king Sidhharāja Jayasiṁha. Hemacandra's grammar nearly supplanted all other systems of grammar among the Jainas in Gujarāt, and in the study of Prākrits its position has always remained supreme. In addition to the commentaries and other accessory treatises which Hemacandra wrote on his grammar, the Jaina scholars have composed, right up to the 18th century, and in a few cases even upto this day, a large number of works annotating, abridging, simplifying and recasting for the convenience of students the monumental work of Hemacandra.[8]

The Syādis'abdasamuccaya of Amaracandrasūri

275. Both the works which are to be reviewed here, viz. the Syādiśabdasamuccaya of Amaracandrasūri and the Prākṛtaprabodha or Prākṛtadīpikā of

1 Belvalkar, op. cit., pp. 57 ff.
2 Ibid, p. 91.
3 Ibid, p. 92.
4 Keith, Sanskrit Literature, p. 432.
5 Belvalkar, op. cit., p. 64. Also vide Premi, Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa, pp. 93 ff.
6 Ibid, p. 69. Also vide Premi, op. cit., pp. 150 ff.
7 Ibid, p. 68.
8 For a list of such works written upto the 18th century, vide Pt. Bechardas, PT, Vol. IV, pp. 80 f.

CHAPTER XVI

A WORK ON METRICS

Science of metrics in Sanskrit

282. Chandaś or metrics, like the Vyākaraṇa, is also one of the six Vedāṁgas. The origin of the vedic metres may probably date back to the Indo-Iranian period, but the science of metrics can be considered to have begun from the time when inquiries into the nature of metrics were seriously made. The earliest attempts are found in Indian literature in the Nidānasūtra of the Sāmaveda, the S'āṁkhāyana Śrautasūtra (vii. 2), in the Ṛk Prātiśākhya and also in the Anukramaṇi of Kātyāyana. "Our authorities leave us wholly in the dark regarding the development of metre between the Vedic and classical periods of Sanskrit, and it is hardly very profitable speculating exactly why there grew up in Sanskrit poetry the use of metres with a determined length of quarter-stanzas or lines, each line being built exactly on the same model, while the first two and the last two lines were more closely combined than the second and the third, between which a complete caesura was essential."[1] The Sūtras of Piṁgala contain a section on the Vedic metres, but the treatise as a whole is meant as a manual on classical prosody. Among earlier writers on prosody quoted by Piṁgala are Krauṣṭuki, Ṭaṇḍin, Yāska, Kāśyapa, S'aitava, Rāta and Māṇḍavya.[2] The name of Piṁgala became so proverbial in course of time that the word Piṁgala itself came to mean "the science of prosody", as can be seen from the title Prākṛta Piṁgala given to a work on Prākrit metres composed about the 13th or 14th century A. D. Scholars believe that Piṁgala is earlier than the chapters XIV and XV of the Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata which deal with metres and the relevant section of the Agni Purāṇa.[3] We get numerous treatises on metrics after the time of these early authorities. A short manual known as the Śrutabodha is ascribed to Kālidāsa, but there are no means of identifying the author with the author of the Śakuntalā and Raghuvaṁśa. In chapter CIV of his Bṛhatsaṁhitā, Varāhamihira (circa 550 A. D.) describes various metres simultaneously with the planetary movements, and by the 11th century A. D. we get the Suvṛttatilaka of Kṣemendra, which is noteworthy because the author deals with his subject not only from the practical, but also from the aesthetic point of view. In the 12th century Hemacandra wrote his elaborate manual Chandonuśāsana, which is very important because of the bulky sections on the Prākrit and Apabhraṁśa metres.

The Chandoratnāvali of Amaracandra

283. Amaracandrasūri, who was, as we have seen, one of the foremost figures in the literary circle of Vastupāla, has also written a work

1 Keith, Sanskrit Literature, p. 417.

2 Krishnamachariar, Classical Sanskrit Literature, p. 902.

3 Keith, op. cit., p. 416.

on metrics, called the Chandoratnāvali. Amaracandra comes about a century after Hemacandra, and being a Jaina writer from Gujarāt, his work shows considerable influence of Hemacandra, and at times he borrows wholesale from his great predecessor. The Chandoratnāvali is unprinted as yet. None of its several manuscripts examined by me has noted its Granthāgra, but according to a rough calculation made by me it is about 820 ślokas. Hemacandra's work is much more extensive, and its Granthāgra along with that of the Svopajña Vṛtti is about 3124 ślokas.[1] Thus the Chandoratnāvali being only about one-fourth in extent in comparison with the Chandonuśāsana, its treatment is naturally less elaborate, though in general plan it is remarkably similar to Hemacandra. As we have seen before (para 106 and 269), Amaracandra has referred to the Chandoratnāvali in his Kāvyakalpalatā, and it is possible that he might have considered this short treatise on metrics as a companion-volume to his work on Kaviśikṣā, as both deal with subjects which are of much practical use in the craft of the poet.

284. The Chandoratnāvali is divided into 9 chapters. The first chapter is called the संज्ञाध्याय,[2] and explains the Sanjñās or terminology used in the work, like वर्णगण, मात्रागण, वृत्त, समवृत्त, विषमवृत्त, अर्धसमवृत्त, पाद, यति, etc. The second chapter is styled the समवृत्ताध्याय.[3] It deals with various Samavṛttas, and in the end treats of a number of Daṇḍakas, and arrangement of Gaṇas in them.[4] The third chapter is अर्धसमवृत्ताध्याय[5] and the fourth is विषमवृत्ताध्याय,[6] and both deal with the Sama and Viṣama metres respectively. The fifth chapter is मात्रावृत्ताध्याय, and lays down the characteristics of metres like Āryā, Gīti and their various types. The sixth chapter is styled the प्रस्ताराध्याय,[7] and deals with the exposition of prosody matematically developed in the calculations of combinations. The seventh chapter is प्राकृतछन्दोऽध्याय,[8] and deals with various types of Gāthā, Āryā, Galita, Khañjaka, Dvipadī, Khaṇḍagīti, etc., which are Mātrāvṛttas principally of the Prākrit languages. The eighth and ninth chapters are described as उत्साहादिप्रतिपादन[9] and षट्पदीद्विपदीचतुष्पदीव्यावर्णन,[10] and deal with Apabhraṁśa metres like Utsāha, Rāsaka, Dvipadī, Catuṣpadī, Rāsāvalaya, Aḍilā, Vastu, Karpūra, Kuṁkuma, Vadanaka, different types of Dhavalamaṁgala, Fullaḍaka, Jhambaḍaka, Ullāla, Catuṣkala, Ṣaṭkala, Ṣaṭpadī and many others. The author has also laid down the numerous sub-varieties of some of them, has shown how the permutations and combinations of the metres can be made, and has given the characteristics of

1 JG, p. 317.

2 cf. CHA, ch. I. संज्ञाध्यायः

3 cf. Ibid, ch. II. समवृत्तव्यावर्णनः

4 Hemacandra also lays down the characteristics of different types of Daṇḍakas at the end of his second chapter.

5–6 cf. CHA, ch. III. अर्धसमविषमवैतालीयमात्रासमकादिव्यावर्णनः

7 cf. Ibid, ch. VIII. प्रस्तारादिव्यावर्णनः

8 cf. Ibid, ch. IV. आर्यागलितकखञ्जकशीर्षकव्यावर्णनः

9 cf. Ibid, ch. V. उत्साहादिप्रतिपादनः

10 cf. Ibid, ch. VI. षट्पदी-चतुष्पदीशासनः; ch. VII. द्विपदीव्यावर्णनः

Sandhi, Kaḍavaka and Dhruvā, which are important units in versification in the Apabhraṁśa narrative poetry.

285. Amaracandra has cited a number of authorities in his work. In chapter I and II he has quoted the opinions of Bharata, Jayadeva,[1] Piṁgala and Svayambhū,[2] especially while giving the alternative names of different metres. In chapter III he has quoted the verses of Dhanapāla (10th century A. D.) and Hemacandra. Chapter VII cites a Prākrit verse in praise of king Kumārapāla (सिरिमूलरायभूवइकुलगयणमयंक॰) and also quotes from the Ratnāvali I. 13 (कुसुमाउहपिअदूअओ॰). From this chapter begins the treatment of Prākrit and Apabhraṁśa metres, and here the author frankly acknowledges his indebtedness to the Chandonuśāsana of Hemacandra, which is alternatively known as the Chandaścūḍāmaṇi.[3] Chapter VIII and IX which deal with Apabhraṁśa metres are also very interesting from the literary point of view, because they quote a number of verses from the Apabhraṁśa literature. Some of the verses are taken from the Chandonuśāsana, as the author is deeply indebted to that work. I shall cite only a few illustrations which are also important from the viewpoint of literary history. At one place in chapter IX five Dūhās of poet Muñja are compared with the five arrows of the god of love—

चूडुल्लउ बाहोहजलु नयणा कंचुवि समघण । इय मुंजि रइया दूहडा पंच वि कामहु पंच सर ॥[4]

"Five Dūhās composed by Muñja, containing the words चूडुल्लउ॰, बाहोहजलु॰, नयणा॰, कंचुवि॰ and समघण॰ are like the five arrows of Kāma."

Two out of these five Dūhās are also given by the author–

चूडुल्लउ चुण्णीहोइसइ मुद्धि कवोलि निहित्तउ । निद्धद्धउ सासानलिण बाहसलिलसंसित्तउ ॥[5]

"O shy one ! the bangle on your hand, when put on the cheeks, will break to pieces being burnt by the fire of your breath and then sprinkled over by the water of your tears."

तं तेत्तिउ बाहोहजलु सिहिणं निरु वि न पत्तु । छिमछिमिवि गंडत्थलिहिं सिमसिमिवि समत्तु ॥[6]

---

1 Jayadeva had written a treatise on metrics in the Sūtra style. He has been quoted as a master of metrics and music by Abhinavagupta (circa 1000 A. D.) in his Abhinavabhāratī (Krishnamachariar, Classical Sanskrit Literature, p. 902) and he must have, therefore, lived before his time.

2 We know of two well-known Apabhraṁśa poets—Caturmukha Svaymbhū and his son Tribhuvana Svayambhū, who lived between the 8th and 10th century A. D. (M. C. Modi, BHV, Vol. I, pp. 157 ff.). We do not know whether one of them was identical with Svayambhū quoted by Amaracandra.

3 प्राकृताद्युपयोगीनि छन्दांसि कतिचिद् ब्रुवे । एषां च लक्षणं लक्ष्यं लिखिष्यामि पृथक् पृथक् ॥
श्रीहेमसूरिप्रणीतछन्दश्चूडामणेरिह । किञ्चित् किञ्चन् चान्यस्माल्लक्ष्यं छन्दोऽभिधान्वितम् ॥
(VII. 1-2)

4 cf. CHA, commentary on VI. 20.

5 cf. Ibid. This verse with slight variations in reading is also found in the Prākrit grammar of Hemacandra (IV. 395).

6 cf. Ibid.

"So much water of tears could not reach even the breasts. It simply disappeared (evaporated) on the (very hot) cheeks, making a sound."

We do not exactly know who this poet Muñja was. The Prabandhacintāmaṇi has nine Apabhraṁśa verses bearing the name of Muñja[1], and there Muñja is none but the king of Mālvā, who was a great patron of learning and lived in the 10th century A. D. It is quite possible that the erotic verses ascribed to Muñja and quoted by Hemacandra and Amaracandra may be from the pen of this poet-king.

1 PC, pp. 23 f.

CHAPTER XVII

A WORK ON NYĀYA

The Vais'eṣika school and the Nyāyakandalī

286. Now we take up Naracandrasūri's Ṭippaṇa on the Nyāyakandalī of Śrīdhara (991 A. D.), which is a commentary on the Bhāṣya of Praśastapāda (5th century A. D.) on the Vaiśeṣikasūtras of Kaṇāda. As is well-known, the Vaiśeṣika and Nyāya are two of the six traditional Darśanas. In their earlier stages of development the two grew up as independent systems of thought. The Nyāya or the discipline of logic really originated in the earlier discussions in the Brāhmaṇas, which were later on systematized in the Nyāya section of the Mīmāṁsā. In fact, with appropriate variation, Nyāya or logic was a part of every school of Indian thought—Vedic, Jaina and Budhhist. But in the early centuries of the Christian era the Nyāya, as systematized by Gautama in his Nyāyasūtras, became a Darśana by itself, and adopted the Vaiśeṣika metaphysics to complete itelf as a Darśana. The Vaśeṣikasūtras are believed to be probably earlier than the Nyāyasūtras.[1] The Vaiśeṣika was primarily a school of metaphysics, basing itself on the atomic theory. In its early history it had its own system of Pramāṇa. But later on the Nyāya and the Vaiśeṣika became cognate systems, the Vaiśeṣika giving prominence to the metaphysical aspect, while the Nyāya emphasised the logical aspect.

287. It is difficult to trace the early history of the seven Padārthas or categories of the Vaiśeṣika school; but we can say that the atomic theory and the theory of Viśeṣas or particulars is very old one, the traces of which can be found in Pāli literature as well as in the Jaina Canon. The Milindapañha (circa 1st century A. D.)[2] gives the words Nīti (i. e. Nyāya) and Vaiśeṣika.[3] In several works of the Jaina canon like the Sthānāṁga Sūtra (ch. 7), the Samavāyāṁga Sūtra (p. 40), etc., and also in the Viśeṣāvaśyaka Bhāṣya (vv. 2451–2508) we find a reference to the school of thought called the Terāsiya or Trairāśika. The summary of the principles of this school given by the Jaina works is "clearly Vaiśeṣika, of the Kaṇāda type, nine substances, seventeen qualities, five forms of motion, particularity, and inherence with, however, three forms of generality somewhat obscurely phrased."[4] The Jainas also accept a sort of atomic theory—the theory of Pudgalas—for explaining the constitution of matter. Thus there seems to be some relation between the Jaina theory of matter and the Vaiśeṣika theory of atoms. This may explain why some Jaina writers in mediaeval times wrote commentaries on the Vaiśeṣika works. In fact, Naracandrasūri was only following this tradition in writing his gloss on the Nyāyakandalī

1 Keith, Indian Logic and Atomism, pp. 23 f.

2 Winternitz, A History of Indian Literature, Vol. II, p. 175.

3 Keith, op. cit., p. 14.

4 Ibid, p. 14.

on the Bhāṣya of Praśastapāda, and Rājaśekharasūri (circa 1349 A. D.) in writing his Pañjikā on the same work.

288. Old commentaries on the Bhāṣya of Praśastapāda, like the Vyomavatī of Vyomas'ivācārya (7th century A. D.),[1] the Kiraṇāvali of Udayanācārya (984 A. D.) and the Nyāyakandalī of S'rīdharācārya have always wielded great influence among the students of the Vais'eṣika school, and are considered as land-marks in the history of the system. The Nyāyakandalī, along with other two works, had become popular among students and was used as a text-book in higher studies of logic. That was especially the case in mediaeval Gujarāt, because two out of a very few available commentaries on the Nyāyakandalī—the Ṭippaṇa by Naracandrasūri and the Pañjikā by Rājaśekharasūri—were composed in Gujarāt, as I have just pointed out; great logician Vādī Devasūri (12th century A. D.) in his Syādvādaratnākara has often referred to and also quoted from S'rīdhara mentioning him by his name and also as the Kandalīkāra (e. g.–pp. 328, 412, 416, 852, 923, etc.); and Jayasiṁhasūri, a Jaina writer from Gujarāt, has cited with respect the opinion of the author of the Nyāyakandalī in his Nyāyatātparyadīpikā (circa 1366 A. D.), which is a commentary on the Nyāyasāra of Bhāsarvajña (तथा च प्रतिपादयाञ्चकार श्रीकन्दलीकारः, p. 47). We are to study here the Ṭippaṇa of Naracandrasūri who, as I have already mentioned, was not only proficient in Nyāya, but was also an adept in different Śāstras like poetics, grammar and astrology, and also in Jaina religious studies (para 119).

Naracandra's Ṭippaṇa on the Nyāyakandalī

289. The Nyāyakandalī expounds the contents of the monumental work of Praśastapāda, and naturally the author who wanted to write a gloss upon the Nyāyakandalī must be not only a profound logician, but also a deep scholar of other systems of philosophy, as Naracandrasūri was. Naracandra's Ṭippaṇa is not printed, and is available in manuscript-form only. Its Granthāgra is 2500 ślokas,[2] and as such it is very short in comparison to the Nyāyakandalī; still it shows the author's thorough grasp and his lucid exposition of the subject-matter. Naracandra's work has merit in another respect too. Though he was a staunch Jaina, he treated the subject as an adherent of the Vaiśeṣika system, following a great tradition of Indian savants like Vācaspati Miśra (841 A. D.), who composed great expository treatises on the texts of the Vedānta, Sāṁkhya, Yoga, Mīmāṁsā and Nyāya schools—the tradition of remaining faithful to the work which they were expounding. A few illustrative quotations would go a long way to show this.

290. Naracandra writes as follows, commenting upon the words अद्वितीयम् and ज्ञानात्मने occurring in the benedictory verse of the Nyāyakandalī–अद्वितीयत्वं वेदान्ताभिप्रायेण, विघटितानि आश्रितानां बन्धनानि येन स्वयं नित्यमुक्तत्वात् । अथवा महेश्वरोऽपि पुरुषेषु उत्तम

1 Mahendrakumār Śāstrī, intro. to the Prameyakamalamārtaṇḍa, pp. 8 ff.

2 JRK, p. 219.

इति तस्यैव नमस्कारो, अत्राद्वितीयमिति न विद्यते द्वितीयो यस्य, ज्ञानात्मने इति ज्ञानधर्मवते इत्यर्थः। आत्मशब्दो धर्मेऽपि वर्तते यथा घटत्वं घटस्य स्वरूपं घटस्य धर्म इत्यर्थः।[1] In this way, though beginning the interpretation from the view-point of the Vedānta, Naracandra has concluded it from the stand-point of a Naiyāyika.

In the same way, commenting upon the half-verse पराञ्चि खानि व्यतृणत् स्वयम्भूः तस्मात् परान् पश्यति नान्तरात्मा quoted by the Nyāyakandalī (p. 57), Naracandra writes–पराञ्चि खानि इति। ब्रह्मा पराञ्चि बाह्यार्थग्राहकाणीन्द्रियाणि सृष्टवांस्तत्कारणादस्मदादिशरीरान्तर्वर्तमान आत्मा परान् शरीराद्युपादानयोग्यान् परमाणून् पश्यति। परो ह्यर्थ इन्द्रियैरेव ग्राह्यो नात्मना, इन्द्रियाणि च न परमाणुग्रहणे समर्थानीति भावः। व्यतृणदिति तृहे रौधादिकस्य ह्यस्तन्यां रूपम्।[2]

At another place, he explains from the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika stand-point, how the external desire of god can arise at the time of Pralaya–सञ्जिहीर्षेति (NK, p. 51)। तावत्कालावच्छेदकोपाध्यवच्छिन्नकालसहकृतत्वमेवेश्वरेच्छाया उत्पादस्तस्या नित्यत्वात्। एवं प्रयत्नस्यापीति।[3] These illustrations would show Naracandra's method of treatment of his subject, and they can be easily multiplied. It will be enough to say that he writes here as a staunch Naiyāyika, and would not spare in this matter even Śrīdhara, on whose work he has commented. As for example, the Nyāyakandalī (p. 9) writes about the blueness of sky visible by day-time–मध्यन्दिनेऽपि दूरगगनान्तभोगव्यापिनो नीलिम्नश्च प्रतीतेः। on which Naracandra has criticized as follows–आलोकसद्भावेऽपि मध्यन्दिने गगनव्यापि नीलिमरूपं तमः प्रतीयते इत्यर्थः। एतच्च स्वसिद्धान्तनिरपेक्षयैवोक्तं, गगननीलिम्नो नयनगोलकगतनीलिमत्वेन स्वयमभ्युपगमात्।[4]

291. It is clear from the work that Naracandra had made a thorough study of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika literature that was written before his time, and that he had good grasp of the theoretical differences between the Nyāya and the Vaiśeṣika systems. The Nyāyakandalī refutes from the Vaiśeṣika point of view the Naiyāyika theory regarding the Upamāna Pramāṇa–येऽपि श्रुतातिदेशवाक्यस्य, etc. (NK, p. 221), which Naracandra explains as follows–अथ नैयायिकमतमुपदर्श्य दूषयन्नाह येऽपि श्रुतातिदेशेत्यादि।[5] At another place he has referred to the opinion of Bhuṣaṇa, the commentator of the Nyāyasāra of Bhāsarvajña[6], and has compared his view with that of the Nyāyakandalī as to whether the लैङ्गिक ज्ञान is उभयालंबि or एकालंबि. That is as follows—प्रत्यक्षत्वे सति (NK, p. 117)। प्रत्यक्षत्वे सतीति, यद्यपि पुरुषो दण्डी, पर्वतो वह्निमानित्युभयत्राप्येकालम्बनत्वमुभयालम्बनत्वं वा तुल्यं तथापि सुरभि चन्दनमित्यत्र बाधवशादेकालम्बनसिद्धावन्यदपि विशिष्टं प्रत्यक्षज्ञानमेकालंबनमित्यस्याभिमतं, लैङ्गिकज्ञानं तूभयालंबनमेवाभिमतमिति तद्व्यवच्छेदो कृतः। भूषणस्तु लैङ्गिकज्ञानमप्येकालंबनमेवाभ्युपगच्छतीति।[7]

292. The Nyāyakandalī has refuted at a number of places the views of Vyomaśivācārya, who was an earlier commentator of Praśastapāda; and it

---

1 NKT, folio 1. The numbers of the folios mentioned here are of the ms. no. 2709 of the collection of Muni Haṁsavijayaji, deposited at the Jaina Jñāna Mandir, Baroda.

2 Ibid, folio 27.

3 Ibid, folio 25.

4 Ibid, folios 5-6.

5 Ibid, folio 68.

6 Randle, Indian Logic in the Early Schools, p. 305n.; Keith, op. cit., pp. 30f

7 Ibid, folio 46.

seems that Naracandra, before writing his Ṭippaṇa, had thoroughly digested the Vyomavatī. This is especially remarkable, because at a number of places he has traced the view anonymously cited by Śrīdhara to the Vyomavatī. I would quote here a few references–

(i) क्त्वाप्रत्ययेनानूद्यते इति–**व्योमशिवेन** व्याख्यातं तद्विधिनिषेधाभावान्निष्प्रयोजनमिति दूषयिष्यन्नन्यथा व्याचष्टे–अत्रैव च (NK, p. 2)।[1]

(ii) किमस्यास्तित्वे प्रमाणम्? प्रत्यक्षमेव, त्वगिन्द्रियव्यापारेण वायुर्वातीत्यपरोक्षज्ञानोत्पत्तेरिति कश्चित् (NK, p. 46)। कश्चिदिति **व्योमशिवः**।[2]

(iii) स्पर्शनप्रत्यक्षो वायुरुपलभ्यमानस्पर्शाधिष्ठानत्वात् (NK, p. 46)। **व्योमशिवमते** तु शीतो वायुरित्यादौ जलादिस्पर्शोपलम्भेऽपि अनुष्णाशीतो घट इतिवत् वायुप्रत्यक्षत्वम्।[3]

(iv) अत्राह कश्चिद्– (NK, p. 214)। अत्राह कश्चिदिति शब्दप्रमाणान्तरवादी **व्योमशिवादिः**।[4]

293. That Naracandra was a master of the dialectical style of the logicians is evident from the Vikalpas of the आत्यन्तिकत्व that he has given in his Ṭippaṇa. The passage throws ample light on Naracandra's capacity as a logician, and as such deserves to be quoted here in its entirety– तस्मादहितनिवृत्तिरात्यन्तिकीति (NK, p. 41)। ननु किमिदमात्यन्तिकत्वं? न तावन्निवृत्तस्य पुनरुत्पादस्तस्य संसारिसाधारण्यात्, संसारिणामपि यद्दुःखं निवृत्तं न तत्पुनरुत्पद्यते; नाप्युच्छित्तिः प्रलयेऽपि निर्वाणप्रसङ्गात्, नापि निवृत्तजातीयस्य पुनरनुत्पादः; कोऽयमनुत्पादो नाम? किं प्रागभाव उत प्रध्वंसाभावोऽथेतरेतराभाव, आहोस्विदत्यन्ताभावः? तत्र न तावत् पूर्वत्रितयं संसारिसाधारण्यात्, नापि तुर्यः स किं दुःखमात्रस्य दुःखविशेषस्य वा? नाद्यस्तस्य भोगावस्थायां संभवेन त्रैकाल्यासत्त्वासिद्धेस्त्रैकालिकाभावस्यैवात्यन्ताभावत्वात्, न द्वितीयस्तस्य संसारावस्थायामपि संभवात्, किञ्चिद्धि तद्दुःखमस्ति यत्संसारिणापि नानुभूयते; नापि समूलं दुःखनिवृत्तिरात्यन्तिकत्वं; सा किं विद्यमानयोर्दुःखतन्मूलयोरविद्यमानयोर्वा? नाद्यो विद्यमानयोः कतिचित्कालपरिपाकवशादवश्यभावि निवृत्तित्वेन तन्निवृत्त्यर्थं ज्ञानाभ्यासादिप्रयासवैयर्थ्यं; नापरोऽविद्यमानस्येश्वरेणापि निवर्तयितुमशक्यत्वात्, नापि दुःखप्रागभावासहवर्तित्वं, प्रागभावाभावे सति दुःखस्वीकारप्रसङ्गात्; सहवर्तित्वाभावस्याभावचतुष्टयत्वेन विकल्प्यमानस्य पूर्वदोषप्रसङ्गात्। उच्यते–दुःखप्रध्वंसरूपाया दुःखनिवृत्तेरागामिदुःखमात्रात्यंताभावसहकृतत्वमात्यन्तिकत्वमिति।[5]

294. The Nyāyakandalī has refuted at length the views of the Buddhist philosophy setting them as the Pūrvapakṣa. Hence the author who writes a gloss or a commentary on the Nyāyakandalī must have a thorough grounding in the Buddhist philosophy, as Naracandrasūri had. The fact becomes significant when we know that Budhhist logic was one of the main subjects taught to the students in mediaeval Gujarāt (para 37). A few illustrative quotations from the Ṭippaṇa will be enough to show Naracandra's proficiency in Budhhist philosophy–

(i) अथ माध्यमिकमाशङ्कते–सवासनेति (NK, p. 3)।[6]

(ii) यथाऽप्रतीयमानेऽपि······(NK, p. 75), on which Naracandra writes—बौद्धोत्तर-

---

1 Ibid, folios 26–27.
2 Ibid, folio 24.
3 Ibid, folio 24.
4 Ibid, folio 64.
5 Ibid, folio 3.
6 Ibid, folio 2.

माशंक्य यथाऽप्रतीयमानेऽपीति-अत्र चाक्षणिकस्य व्यावृत्तिविषयस्याप्रतीतौ कथं सत्त्वव्यावृत्तिप्रतीतिरिति शंकायां व्यावृत्तिविषयाप्रत्यक्षत्वेऽपि व्यावृत्तिर्दृश्यते ।[1]

(iii) अपि भोः सर्वमिति (NK, p. 122)। ग्रन्थकारो हि प्रथमं वैभाषिकमतं ततः सौत्रान्तिकमतं योगाचारेण दूषयित्वा ततः स्वयं योगाचारमपि निराकरिष्यमाणः प्रथमं बाह्यार्थप्रत्यक्षतावादिनं वैभाषिकं निराकरिष्यन् योगाचारमुत्थापयति अपि भोः सर्वमिति ।[2]

(iv) न च तदुत्पत्तेरिति (NK, p. 123) । न च तदुत्पत्तेरन्यदिति-ज्ञानस्यार्थादुत्पन्नत्वमेव नियतार्थग्राहितास्वभावहेतुर्नान्य इत्यर्थः । एवं वैभाषिकमतं योगाचारेण दूषयित्वा विषयाप्रत्यक्षवादिनं ग्राह्याकारज्ञानप्रत्यक्षतावादिनं सौत्रान्तिकं योगाचाराद्दूषयिष्यन्नाशंकयति अथोच्यते इत्यादि ।[3]

(v) अत्रोच्यते (NK, p. 123)। योगाचारेण सौत्रान्तिकं दूषयति अत्रोच्यते इत्यादि ।[4]

(vi) अथ मतं यदेतदित्यादि (NK, p. 124)। सौत्रान्तिकपरिहारमाशंकयति ।[5]

(vii) अथ साकारेणेति (NK, p. 124)। एतावता ग्रन्थेन किमर्थो गृह्यते, किमुतोभयमिति विकल्पद्वयं निराकृत्य, किं वा आकार इति तृतीयं विकल्पं योगाचारो निराचष्टे अथ साकारेणेति ।[6]

The quotations show that Naracandra knew Budhhist philosophy as propounded by different sects of the Budhhists, like Mādhyamika, Sautrāntika, Vaibhāṣika and Yogācāra. But for his minute knowledge of the different philosophical tenets of these sects he could not have exactly identified them while explaining the Pūrvapakṣa in his Ṭippaṇa.

295. It seems from the Ṭippaṇa that Naracandra had also studied other systems of philosophy like Sāṁkhya-Yoga, Mīmāṁsā and Vedānta. I shall present here a few quotations to show his knowledge of each of these systems.

(I) SĀṀKHYA

(i) सर्वसम्भवाभावादिति (NK, p. 143)। सांख्यमते त्वयमपि हेतुः, विवादाध्यासितं कार्यमुत्पत्तेः प्रागपि स्वकारणेष्वप्यस्ति तस्मादेव जायमानत्वात् तैलवत् ।[7]

(ii) प्रधानात्मकत्वे इति (NK, p. 144)। सांख्यैर्हि कार्यं प्रकृतितत्त्वकार्यमेवाभ्युपगम्यते, ततः कार्यकारणयोस्तादात्म्येऽतीन्द्रियकारणात्मकत्वात्कार्यजातस्याप्यतीन्द्रियत्वप्रसङ्गः, वैशेषिकमते तु भेदाभ्युपगमात् द्व्यणुकस्याप्रत्यक्षत्वेऽपि तत्कार्यस्योद्भूतरूपवत्त्वादिसामग्रीवशात् प्रत्यक्षतोपपद्यत एव ।[8]

(iii) प्रधानस्य विकारो महदिति (NK, p. 171) । सांख्यमते हि प्रकृतिर्नाम प्रधानापरपर्यायं सर्वोत्पत्तिमत्कारणं प्रथमं तत्त्वमभ्युपगच्छन्ति । तद्विकारमहत्तत्त्वं तस्य चान्तःकरणं चित्तं चेति पर्यायौ तद्विकारतत्त्वं, ततः पंचतन्मात्राणि स्पर्शनादीनि पंचबुद्धीन्द्रियाणि वाक्पाण्यादीनि पंचकर्मेन्द्रियाणि मनश्चेति । अत एव महदहङ्कारमनःसहितैर्बुद्धिकर्मेन्द्रियैस्त्रयोदशेन्द्रियाण्युपपद्यन्ते ।[9]

(II) YOGA

(i) क्लेशकर्मेति (NK, p. 58)। अविद्या-अस्मिता-राग-द्वेषाभिनिवेशाः क्लेशाः, कर्माणि योगादीनि विपाका जात्यायुर्भोगाः, आशया धर्माधर्मसंस्काराः । संस्काराणां तु केवलानामाशयत्वे कर्मशब्देन धर्माधर्मयोरभिधानम् ।[10]

---

1 Ibid, folio 31.
2 Ibid, folio 47.
3 Ibid, folio 47.
4 Ibid, folio 48.
5 Ibid, folio 48.
6 Ibid, folio 48.
7 Ibid, folio 53.
8 Ibid, folio 53.
9 Ibid, folio 56.
10 Ibid, folio 27.

(III) MĪMĀṂSĀ AND ITS BRANCHES

(i) शब्दस्य हि निजम् (NK, p. 216)। शब्दस्य हि निजमिति वैशेषिकभट्टमते सामान्यं प्रभाकरमते तु स्वरूपमेवेति।[1]

(ii) अत्रैके वदन्ति (NK, p. 217)। अत्रैके इति स्वतःप्रामाण्यवादिनो जैनभट्टबौद्धादयः, भाट्टाद्यो हि ज्ञानमेव प्रमाणमाहुः, वैशेषिकास्तु ज्ञानं धूमचक्षुरादिकमज्ञानं च प्रमाणमाहुरित्यज्ञानरूपप्रमाणाभिप्रायेणाह। प्रामाण्यमेव तावदिति।[2]

(iii) तत्किं स्वतो ज्ञायते (NK, p. 218)। भट्टाभिप्रायेण यस्मादेव ज्ञाततादेर्ज्ञानं ज्ञायते तस्मादेव स्वकीयात्प्रामाण्यमपि ज्ञायते इत्यत्र स्वशब्दः आत्मीयवचनः बौद्धप्रभाकरमते तु ज्ञानस्य स्वसंवेदनत्वाभ्युपगमात् स्वस्मादात्मन एव ज्ञायते इत्यत्र स्वशब्दः आत्मवचनः।[3]

(iv) ये तावत्पूर्वेति (NK, p. 220)। जरन्मीमांसकमतोपमानमुपदर्श्यान्तर्भावयन्ति ये तावत्पूर्वेति।[4]

(IV) VEDĀNTA

(i) यदाहुरेके (NK, p. 97)। यदाहुरेके इति वेदान्तवादिन इत्यर्थः।[5]

(ii) केचित्सामान्यवत शुक्लादिगुणानपि व्यापकान् नित्यानाहुस्तन्निराचष्टे-एतेनैकमिति (NK, p. 98)।[6]

(iii) ये तु शुक्तिकायामिति (NK, p. 181)। ये इति जरद्वेदान्तिनः।[7]

296. In addition to being a skilled logician, Naracandra was also a teacher of grammar, as we have already seen while reviewing his Prākṛtaprabodha (para 281). In this Ṭippaṇa also he has given etymologies of numerous words on the authority of grammar, and has inserted at several places short grammatical discussions,[8] which show his command over the subject.

297. Naracandra's Ṭippaṇa also supplies some important historical information about Śrīdhara, the author of the Nyāyakandalī. We know from the concluding portion of the Nyāyakandalī that Śrīdhara was a native of the Rāḍha district in the Gauḍa country, and that he had written his work at the request of king Pāṇḍudāsa, who was reigning there. In short, Pāṇḍudāsa was the patron of Śrīdhara. Now, Naracandra writes at a place in his Ṭippaṇa–पाण्डुदासोऽयमिति ग्रन्थकृच्छिष्यः।[9] The Benares edition of the Nyāyakandalī (p. 93) reads here as घटोऽयमिति। From this can be inferred that the manuscript of the Nyāyakandalī which Naracandra had got contained some important variants and that there was a tradition prevalent, at least in Gujarāt, that Pāṇḍudāsa was a pupil of Śrīdhara. Naracandra's Ṭippaṇa also notes the name of Bhaṭṭācārya as the preceptor of Śrīdhara–गुरुभिरिन्द्रियजा भ्रान्तिरुच्यते (NK, p. 178)। गुरुभिरिति भट्टाचार्यैरित्यर्थः।[10] This piece of information

---

1 Ibid, folio 65.
2 Ibid, folio 66.
3 Ibid, folio 66.
4 Ibid, folio 68.
5 Ibid, folio 42.
6 Ibid, folio 42.
7 Ibid, folio 58.
8 Ibid, folios 18, 21–22, 51, etc.
9 Ibid, folio 40.
10 Ibid, folio 58.

bearing on the personal history of the famous author of the Nyāyakandalī is especially noteworthy, because we do not get it from any other source.

298. Thus though Naracandra is a profound logician and a deep scholar of various Śāstras, he is not free from a common defect found among the Sanskrit commentators of Śāstra-works. The defect is this—that in the beginning of the commentary, they write at length, but in the later portions of the work their treatment becomes briefer, as if they were fatigued by their literary effort. While expounding the Nyāyakandalī, Naracandra has written at sufficient length on the Dravyagrantha which comes in the beginning. His treatment becomes progressively shorter as we go further. The gloss on the Guṇagrantha is shorter in comparison with that on the Dravyagrantha; Karma and Sāmānya are hastily passed off, nothing is written on Viśeṣa, and Samavāya has been treated in three or four lines only. it is possible, however, that in the Ṭippaṇa Naracandra intended to supply a handy guide-book to students, just like his Ṭippaṇa on the Anargharāghava and also his Prākṛtaprabodha, and probably the Ṭippaṇa may have been in the form of lecture-notes, in which case the treatment he has given to the subject can be assigned some reason.

CHAPTER XVIII

WORKS ON ASTROLOGY

Literature on astrology

299. Jyotiṣ meaning both astronomy and astrology was one of the oldest branches of learning cultivated in India, it being one of the six Vedāṁgaṣ. "In the Brāhmaṇas and the Sūtras we find recognition of the idea of a lucky star, and the Dharmasūtras demand that the king shall have an astrologer just as he has a house-chaplain, while the Arthaśāstra ranks the court-bards, the servants of the chaplain and astrologer among the lower court-functionaries."[1] From the great work of Varāhamihira, viz. his Bṛhatsaṁhitā (circa 550 A. D.), we know the names of several authorities on astrology, like Asita Devala, Garga, Vṛdhha Garga, Nārada and Parāśara, whose works are not extant—from which we know that a number of text-books existed before the times of Varāhamihira. From a reference in Varāhamihira[2] which mentions the great reputation of the Greeks in astrology and also from the fact that a number of Sanskrit technical terms of astrology have been directly adapted from Greek astrology,[3] we get a clear indication of the Hellenic influence on this branch of scientific literature in India.

300. In later Sanskrit literature we find a number of treatises not only on astrology, but also on omens and augury, which are allied lores. The Jainas have made a worthy contribution to all these branches of learning,[4] right from the Āgama-period when the works like the Jyotiṣkaraṇḍaka, the Gaṇivijjā and the Aṁgavijjā were composed, upto the most recent times, because practice of Jyotiṣ and medicine was the hobby and sometimes profession of the Jaina Yatis. Among the comparatively earlier works on astrology written in Gujarāt we may mention the Sāmudrikatilaka begun in 1160 A. D. under king Kumārapāla by Durlabharāja and finished by his son Jagaddeva, who also wrote the Svapnacintāmaṇi explaining the meaning of dreams; and also the Narapatijayacaryā Svarodaya written at Aṇahilavāḍ under king Ajayapāla by one Narahari, son of Āmradeva.[5]

The Ārambhasidhhi of Udayaprabha and Jyotiḥsāra of Naracandra

301. A few decades after the period of Kumārapāla and Ajayapāla, we come to the period of Vastupāla, the literary activities of whose circle include at least two works on astrology, viz. the Ārambhasidhhi of Udayaprabhasūri and the Jyotiḥsāra of Naracandrasūri. The Ārambhasidhhi has 412 verses in all, while the available portions of the Jtoiḥsāra have 257 verses. Both

1 Keith, Sanskrit Literature, p. 528.
2 Bṛhatsaṁhitā, II. 25.
3 Keith, op. cit., p. 530.
4 JRK, pp. 128, 134, 150–51, 159, 368–69, 460; and JSP, Vol. XIX, p. 4.
5 Keith, op. cit., pp. 534–35. Also LBC, p. 160 and JSI, pp. 277 f.

the works mainly deal with the Muhūrta-śudhhi or the finding out of correct time for auspicious undertakings from the astrological point of view, a branch of this science in which the Jaina writers specialized. Though the Jaina literature can show a large number of works on astrology and allied subjects, these two works have been always considered the most authoritative books on the topics with which they deal, and their popularity has been attested by the fact that scores of manuscripts of both of them can be obtained from different old Bhāṇḍārs all over Gujarāt and Rājasthān.

CHAPTER XIX

COMMENTARIES ON JAINA RELIGIOUS WORKS

Exegetical literature of the Jainas

302. Exegetical activity of the Jainas began with the Niryuktis, which are short metrical expositions of certain parts of the scriptural texts, and are traditionally ascribed to Bhadrabāhu (para 224). Then there are Bhāṣyas in Prākrit verse, which are sometimes inextricably intermingled with the Niryukti-verses. Most of the Cūrṇis or Prākrit commentaries in prose on several canoncial texts are ascribed to Jinadāsagaṇi who lived in the 7th century, as his Cūrṇi on the Nandisūtra was completed in 677 A. D.[1] Then commences the period in which the Jainas began to write Sanskrit commentaries on their religious works which were in Prākrit, because they had fully accepted Sanskrit as the language of scholarship and high learning by that time; and we find learned Sanskrit commentaries from the pen of Haribhadrasūri, Śīlāṁkadeva, Abhayadevasūri and Malayagiri—to all of whom we have referred in the first chapter—and from several others. This scholastic tradition continued with full vigour, upto the 17th century at least, when important commentaries like Vinayavijaya's Subodhikā and Dharmasāgara's Kiraṇāvali on the Kalpasūtra were composed.

303. Among the works of the literary circle of Vastupāla we do not find any commentary on the canonical texts, but we get detailed commentaries on three Prakaraṇas, which according to Jaina literary tradition mean short treatises dealing with some aspect of Jaina religion and philosophy, mostly composed in Prākrit verse. These three commentaries are–Udayaprabhasūri's Karṇikā on the Upadeśamālā of Dharmadāsagaṇi, and Bālacandra's two commentaries on the Vivekamañjarī and the Upadeśakandalī of Āsaḍa.

The Upades'amālā-Karṇikā of Udayaprabha

304. First we take the Upadeśamālā-Karṇikā. The Upadeśamālā is a Prākrit work giving religious and moral instruction in 540 gāthās, and its author Dharmadāsa is believed by tradition to be a pupil of Mahāvīra.[2] But this is hardly possible, because the language of the Upadeśamālā corresponds to the later Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī. In any way, it is earlier than the 9th century, because by that time Sidhharṣi had written a commentary on it (para 16). The Upadeśamālā was very widely read and studied, and not less than eighteen commentaries in Sanskrit, one in Prākrit and three Bālāvabodhas in old Gujarātī are known on the work.[3] Chronologically, the Karṇikā of Udayaprabha is the fourth commentary, the earlier three being the commentary by Sidhharṣi, the Prākrit Vṛtti by Jayasiṁhasūri (857 A. D.) a pupil of Kṛṣṇa,[4]

1 JSI, p. 161; JRK, p. 201.

2 JSI, p. 31.

3 JRK, pp. 49-51.

4 The same author has also written a Prākrit Prakaraṇa called the Dharmopadeśamālā, in 859 A. D., evidently inspired by the work of Dharmadāsa.

and the Doghaṭṭī Vṛtti by Ratnaprabhasūri (1182 A. D.).[1] The Karṇikā of Udayaprabha is not printed and is available in manuscript-form only. It is a very long commentary, its Granthāgra being 12274 ślokas.[2] But the size of the work has been swelled not by explanations of the text, which are usually short, but by numerous stories and narratives inserted as illustrations of points stressed in the gāthās; it is for this reason that the Granthāgra of the commentary on the first three gāthās only is not less than 1944 ślokas. All the illustrative stories are the typical examples of Jaina Dharmakathās. They are taken, as a rule, from the Jaina mythology and the Jain historical tradition, and are always in the Anuṣṭup metre, while the textual explanations are in prose. In his 8th Maṁgala verse Udayaprabhasūri has mentioned Sidhharṣi out of his previous commentators–

गाथास्तु खलु धर्मदासगणिनः सञ्जातरूपश्रियः किन्त्वैष स्फुरदर्थरत्ननिकरः सिद्धर्षिणैवार्पितः।
तेनैतामतिवृत्तसंस्कृतमयीमातन्वतः कर्णिकां वृत्तिं मेऽत्र सुवर्णकारपदवीसीमाश्रमश्चिन्त्यताम् ॥

(folio 1)

Bālacandra's commentaries on the Vivekamañjarī and Upades'akandalī

305. Next we come to Bālacandra's commentaries on the two Prākrit Prakaraṇas by Āsaḍa—viz. his Vivekamañjarī and Upadeśakandalī. The former work contains 327 gāthās, while the latter one comprises 125 gāthās, and both the works contain Jain religious instruction in its various aspects. The commentary on the Vivekamañjarī is published, while that on the Upadeśakandalī being unprinted is available only in manuscript-form. Both the commentaries have been composed in the style of the Karṇikā, inserting numerous long narratives in verse, so much so that the Granthāgra of the commentary on the Vivekamañjarī is 8000 ślokas,[3] while that of the commentary on the Upadeśakandalī is 7600 ślokas.[4] The Vivekamañjarī-Ṭīkā has been divided into four parts, and at the end of the first three parts the author has given a verse in praise of Jaitrasiṁha, Āsaḍa's son, for whom he had composed the commentary (para 125), while at the end of the fourth part a long Praśasti has been given, which is literally identical with that at the end of the Upadeśakandalī-Ṭīkā. The Upadeśakandalī-Ṭīkā is in twelve parts, and two verses are appended at the end of each part—one in praise of Haribhadrasūri, the Guru of Bālacandra, and the other in praise of Āsaḍa, the author of the original Prakaraṇas. Some of the narratives in both the Ṭīkās extend to several hundred verses. In the Vivekamañjarī-Ṭīkā the author has given the Bharata-Bhūṣana Mahākāvya,[5] the life of Bharata in a versified narrative which comprises 545 verses in four cantos; the Sītācarita Mahākāvya[6] which has 556 verses in three cantos, and

1 JRK, p. 49–50.
2 Ibid, p. 50.
3 अष्टावनुष्टुभामत्र सहस्राणि भवन्ति हि। प्रत्यक्षरं गणनया ग्रन्थमाने विनिश्चिते ॥ (VMT, p. 217).
4 JRK, p. 47.
5 VMT, pp. 9–25.
6 Ibid, pp. 111–27.

Damayantī-Lalita Mahākāvya[1] giving an account of Nala and Damayantī, which contains 314 verses in three cantos. It may be remembered that the title Mahākāvya is to be understood here in the qualified sense of a narrative poem having great religious or mythological figures as heroes or heroines (para 166). The Sītācarita Mahākāvya also occurs in the Upadeśakandalī-Ṭīkā,[2] which has another long narrative giving the life of king Śreṇika, styled the Śreṇikopākhyāna Mahākāvya[3] and comprising 336 verses in four cantos. As both the commentaries are from the pen of one author, a number of stories are literally common to both of them. It is interesting to note here that at one place in the Vivekamañjarī-Ṭīkā the author has quoted a Subhāṣita from his own pen.[4]

306. Thus the method of all the three commentaries is almost identical, and the reason of that lies in the history of the Jaina scholastic tradition as far as it was concerned with the interpretation and study of the sacred texts. The metrical Niryuktis and Bhāṣyas many times give the story, but only in the form of catch-words, such as would enable the reader to recapitulate the whole story, which he would then narrate in his own words to his students or his audience. The Prākrit Cūrṇis frequently give the illustrative stories handed down by tradition; these stories are always in prose and are very briefly told without any literary embellishments. In Sanskrit commentaries also the stories are generally in Prākrit, because they are taken from older sources which were in Prākrit, though in some Sanskrit commentaries of later date one finds these stories in their Sanskrit versions. Not infrequently we get the stories in verse, as for example in Nemicandra's commentary on the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra (1073 A. D.). As time went on the Prākrit was cultivated less even by the Jainas, and possibly the bilingual commentaries were found to be somewhat inconvenient from the view-point of readers, most of whom were not scholars, even if they were Jaina ascetics. And we come nearer to the period of the commentaries we have just reviewed, which are entirely in Sanskrit and have their stories in lucid and readable Sanskrit verse. It was customary to read the religious Prakaraṇas at the time of daily sermon, and the illustrative stories helped the preacher a lot in making his discourse interesting to the audience. From this view-point, it can be said that the institution of the daily Vyākhyāna or sermon was instrumental in the development of the Jaina exegetical literature from the memorial verses of the Niryuktis to the elaborate and exhaustive commentaries like the writings of Udayaprabha and Bālacandra.

---

1 Ibid, pp. 132–43.

2 UKT, folios 165–81.

3 Ibid, folios 18–32.

4 यदुक्तमस्माभिः सूत्रपङ्क्तौ–

पद्माश्रय इति पद्मं विनोति कुमुदं न यदब्जबन्धुरपि।
अब्जत्वे तुल्येऽपि हि तज्जातिः कारणात्मैव ॥

(VMT, p. 2)

CONCLUSION

307. In the preceding chapters we have seen the literary and scholarly traditions of Gujarāt in the ages that preceded that of Vastupāla, we have studied the historical and biographical account of Vastupāla and of the poets and scholars in his literary circle, and then we have reviewed the noteworthy contribution which they made to Sanskrit literature, considering it form-wise. The works of this literary circle range from stray verses to Mahākāvyas and also deal with various branches of Śāstric literature. Even if we do not consider the works which are known only through references and have not yet been discovered, there are ten Mahākāvyas, four plays, eighteen Praśastis (exclusive of the shorter inscriptions and a large number of laudatory verses found in the Prabandhas, etc.), six Stotras, three anthologies, a collection of Prabandhas, a collection of Jaina Dharmakathās, two Apabhraṁśa Rāsas, three works on poetics including one on Kaviśikṣā, two works on grammar (one on Sanskrit and the other on Prākrit grammar), a work on metrics, a work on Nyāya, two works on astrology, three commentaries on Jaina religious works and a gloss on the Sanskrit play Anargharāghava. This contribution becomes all the more noteworthy when we remember that it is but a part of the great literary and scholastic activity that was going on in Gujarāt in the 13th century A. D.; because, as remarked in the very beginning, in this book I have limited my subject to works of those literary figures, who were directly patronized by Vastupāla, and have not reviewed the life and works of his other contemporaries, among whom may be mentioned Vidyādhara (para 82), author of the earliest known commentary on the Naiṣadhīyacarita, Vinayacandra, the author of the Kaviśikṣā (para 262), and Lakṣmīdhara (1225 A. D.) and Devendra (1242 A. D.), who gave excellent summaries of the Tilakamañjarī of Dhanapāla and the Upamitibhavaprapañcakathā of Sidhharṣi, respectively, and others. The extent and quality of their works were in no way negligible.

308. The most remarkable figure in the literary circle of Vastupāla was Someśvara. This hereditary priest of the Caulukya kings of Gujarāt was a poet of distinct merit and he attempted with notable success, almost all the forms of creative literature in Sanskrit, as we have seen in the preceding chapters. He composed Mahākāvyas, plays, Stotras, a collection of Muktakas, Praśastis, and numerous stray verses. In all these forms he acquitted himself very well, and It may be said without hesitation that not only does he occupy a high place in mediaeval Sanskrit literature, but his works like the Kīrtikaumudī may be ranked as second in merit only to the compositions of the great masters like Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, Māgha and others of the classical period.

309. Among other figures of the circle, whose literary works have come down to us, may be mentioned Amaracandrasūri and Naracandrasūri. The former was a prolific and versatile writer, as shown before, but a single composition of his, viz. the Kāvyakalpalatā, which is a text-book of Kaviśikṣā, has made his name famous, and the said text has proved to

be the most popular and authoritative treatise on the topic among the students of Sanskrit, both Jainas and non-Jainas. The latter, viz. Naracandrasūri was proficient in various Śāstras, he had taught Vastupāla three Vidyās (para 118), and his gloss on the Nyāyakandalī of Śrīdhara shows his great erudition not only in Nyāya, but also in other Śāstras. We may also mention Māṇikyacandra, the author of the Saṁketa who, as we have seen, was one of the early commentators of the Kāvyaprakāśa of Mammaṭa. I have dealt with other literary figures at the proper places, and the same things need not be repeated here.

310. The literary culture of Gujarāt in those days was a composite one, in which there was an admirable cultural co-operation among the Brāhmanical and Jaina scholars. We find that a royal priest like Someśvara writes Praśastis of Jaina temples and a Jaina Sādhu like Bālacandra borrows literary motifs from a great Brāhmanical work like the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (para 158). Moreover, we find that Amaracandra, also a Jain Sādhu, summarises the whole of the Mahābhārata in verse, and praises Vyāsa in the beginning of every canto. It may be noted that the sacred book summarized by Amaracandra is not the Jaina version of the Mahāhārata avaliable in the Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra and other works, but that great encyclopaedia of Indian traditions and legends ascribed to Vyāsa. This emphatically shows that listeners of Amaracandra, most of whom were most probably Jainas, were accustomed with the Brāhmanical Mahābhārata. The age-long enmity between the Śramaṇa and the Brāhmaṇa mentioned by Patañjali and others as if vanished in Gujarāt. This non-sectarian outlook in literary matters was not accidental, but it came from commendable toleration and the spirit of give and take which prevailed in contemporary life, represented by the great figure of Vastupāla in almost all its aspects, as the preceding chapters have shown. It also shows that the Hindu culture, of which the Jaina religion and culture form an integral part, was one, and whole of the mediaeval history of Gujarāt gives a picture in which we find this remarkable fusion of Brāhmanical and Jaina trends which has left its indelible mark on the cultural life of the whole province.

INDEX

[Names of literary works etc. are printed in italics]

B

H

I

J

K

L

M

T

CORRIGENDA

Page	*Line*	*Read*	*For*
1	21	says	say
17	6	life.	life
24	26	Somadharma	Sonadharma
,,	43	evaluation	evoluation
27	32	a reward	areward
31	4	Cutch	Cuth
36	9	there	th re
39	12	Sahṛdayacūḍāmaṇi	Sahṛdayacūḍamaṇi
42	10	persons	persens
45	22	Jaina	Jains
59	12	Silpaśāstra	Silpaśāstra
103	44	the	Narrative
104	32	gods	Gods
108	22	end	and
118	5	banyan	Banyan
147	22	garb	grab
151	5	—	prevalent
153	19	comparison	comparision
154	11	tenets	tenents
162	16	poet	poent